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"Here Stands a High Bred Horse": A Theory of Economics and Horse Breeding in Colonial Virginia, 1750-1780; a Statistical Model

Lily Kleppertknoop
College of William & Mary - Arts & Sciences

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"Here Stands A High Bred Horse"
A Theory of Economics and Horse Breeding
In Colonial Virginia, 1750-1780;
A Statistical Model

Lily Kleppertknoop

Great Falls, Virginia

Bachelors of Arts and Sciences, Kutztown University, 2011

A Thesis presented to the Graduate Faculty
of the College of William and Mary in Candidacy for the Degree of
Masters in Arts

The Department of Anthropology

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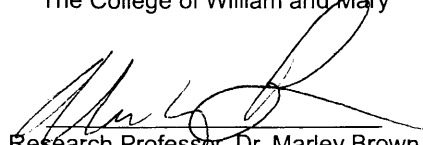
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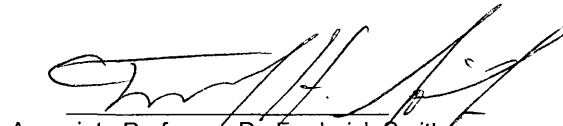
Master of Arts


Lily Kleppertknoop

Approved by the Committee, March 2013


Committee Chair & Graduate Advisor
Professor, Dr. Kathleen Bragdon
The College of William and Mary


Research Professor, Dr. Marley Brown
The College of William and Mary


Associate Professor, Dr. Frederick Smith
The College of William and Mary

ABSTRACT

Using a defined set of variables that can be charted to show statistical trends, the stallion advertisements from the Virginia Gazette between 1750 and 1780 allow for the unique study of horse breeding along the colonial economic landscape. These trends illustrate historical links between landscape, individuals, and social change.

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This thesis is dedicated to my professors, closest colleagues, and loving family.

May your trowels always be sharp, and don't lean on the transit

It's not what you find, it's what you find out.

David Hurst Thoma

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INTRODUCTION

The American turf is an institution that has so long been a part of our historical narrative as a national, cultural, and social organization that the history of it has nearly moved into the realm of fable. Much of the written history of the turf and the rise of the American racehorse is graced with larger-than-life characters and events that barely seem plausible. However, this institution did not spring out of the forests and onto the turf; the creation of the American Thoroughbred was a long process that took extensive amounts of time, money, and patience. This investment could have only been made by those individuals who had the capital to import, house, race, and breed horses, which allowed for the advent of a small and interconnected community of elites, who knowingly sought to create an animal that encompassed all of their hopes and dreams.

What began as a question of curiosity while combing the digital archives of the Virginia Gazette and quite literally stumbling across the colonial classifieds, has now culminated into a careful study of American turf history and Thoroughbred origins; the study of economy, class, society, and the role the landscape has played in the conscious creation of a truly unique breed of equine and the distinct role the sport of horse racing has had in American history. What I hope to convey in the following pages is another view of social history and anthropology in colonial America; to describe an approach that has hardly been breached in recent historical and anthropological research. With a theory drawn from historical archaeology and current economic study, a history rich in primary source material and first hand accounts, and a collected wealth of data, this

theses is only the beginning of what is needed to completely comprehend and understand horse breeding in colonial Virginia. What can be seen at the surface is a vast river of interconnected peoples, classes, ideas, expectations, and ones own self perception, all through a horse. With all of this information in mind and armed with both personal experience, I intend to illustrate the hugely elaborate practice, both economical, historical, theoretical, and social, that encompassed the world of Colonial Virginia horse breeding. The passion of horse breeders led to the creation of the American Thoroughbred horse. In their search for the fastest horse, they created a breed that would define the sport of horse racing, and indeed the modern equestrian culture the world over.

I believe that this work differs from previous studies on the history of horses in America, it's colonies, and the study of animal husbandry in colonial America in its linkage of horse breeding to the social, cultural, and economic changes in the colonies. The history of the horse in the colonies has been covered many times over, but the lens of horse racing is one that is glossed over. This is surprising, given its complexity within the colonial culture and the status it lends to society and its individuals. Those who could race their horses used them as an extension of themselves; a mirroring of the human within the horse.

Animal husbandry is the science of taking care of domestic animals that are used primarily as food, transport, or other materials. Its history has dealt mainly with animals used for meat, milk, or other products; cows, sheep, goats, pigs, chickens, and the like. Equine ownership, care, and breeding do fall under the general category of animal husbandry; indeed, pet ownership is a form of

animal husbandry for the layperson. However, I feel that the work that I am presenting here differs from the general scope of husbandry. What I describe in the ensuing work is the cultural aspects of horse ownership and care. I argue that horse ownership during the colonial period, and well into today, was as a social marker and that the lens of horse breeding makes possible to view into the active creation of a status marker. If a breeder can foal a winning horse, then they have successfully bred an animal that can give its owner social and cultural recognition.

What I also hope to present is the way in which the historical and anthropological lens of horse breeding and horse racing can be used archaeologically in future studies. Indeed, there is little material culture associated with horse breeding, and the material associated with horses in general hardly differs from culture to culture, but there may be a large body of untapped archaeological evidence for race tracks, or at least their association within the larger social structure. Discussed more in detail in later sections, colonial racetracks were often created in or near areas of the greatest community gatherings; taverns, pubs, fair grounds, and town squares. These areas would have made the races that much more a part of daily colonial life, and should thus have a marker, though small, within the archaeological evidence of being a part of the active community.

CHAPTER ONE

FRAMEWORK

Such an undertaking demands a strict framework to become clear; this framework will allow for a more in-depth and profound avenue to study such a history and, in the future, an archaeology. I will agree that an archaeology of horse racing and horse breeding seems a far fetched idea; what exactly is the material culture of horses and how can that evidence bear to light the extensive time and patience that created the American Thoroughbred? Can horses be studied as a form of material culture themselves? Indeed, can the skeleton of a Thoroughbred horse differ so much from an Irish Sport Horse or a Spanish mustang? What does a burial of a horse tell us about its life and service? Questions I hope to answer, many of these in this thesis, although additional analysis will take more time and a more complete statistical study.

I wish to employ several theories of an economic and social landscape that encompassed the colonists and their horses in order to frame the data that I am presenting. The nature of an economic landscape that creates a cultural construction of status has been explored before by various historians, including a small body of analysis dealing directly with issues of horse racing and gambling. High stakes racing and gambling today creates its own economic status marker; one can only imagine the amounts of money that has been both won and lost on some of the biggest horse races of our time. Using aspects of landscape theory by Tim Ingold, and meshing it with various theories of economy, society, and

class (vis-a-vis Brian Stoddart, Ashli White, Stuart Bruchey, and others) creates an opinion that I believe corresponds well with the historical issues that I am contending with in my thesis and it's ensuing research. It is hoped that this beginning will allow for other historical and anthropological questions to be asked and explored further.

According to historian Charles Andrews, "To the colonists in America a commercial and trading life was a natural accompaniment of their geographical location" (Andrews, 1914:50). The economics of British Imperialism and the American colonies has been widely studied with a vast array of literature discussing the trade networks between Europe and America. Indeed, horses are just one small part of the network that included more than material goods; trade of social and cultural memes found in aspects of sport and play. As Stoddart argued,

Perhaps the most neglected agency in the process of cultural transfer from Britain to her colonial empire is that which involved sports and games. Through sport were transferred dominant British beliefs as to social behavior, standards, relations, and conformity, all of which persisted beyond the end of the formal empire...[1988:650]

What I hope to add to in the larger economic argument is a study of the way in which landscape influenced and reinforced cultural and societal norms and mores; how economy and economic trends fell into the cultural constructions of status and how status was conveyed and protected. Applying this framework to the status-laden realm of horses and their sport allows for a deeper understanding of the cultural constructions surrounding the colonial elite and their agency.

Like any organism on the physical landscape, equines are ultimately at the whim of nature. Before the colonial establishment of barns and farms, livestock; including horses, cows, and sheep, were allowed to wander free throughout the colonial countryside to forage for their food and largely fending for themselves; sometimes wreaking havoc on enclosed crops(Peck, 2008). This type of livestock practice produces healthier offspring and was far cheaper for the farmer. A farmer did not have to pay for stabling or feed for his animals if they could wander freely to graze on their own, and this type of free wandering produced hardier and healthier animals, capable of surviving harsher conditions than stabled individuals.

When it came to equine breeding in the colonial era, before any advanced hormone technology, breeding was done with careful consideration of the natural gestation rhythms of mares. These rhythms dictated if the planter should race or breed his horse, and calculate which would be the most beneficial and profitable for himself and his mount. Even deciding when to geld a horse, the practice of removing the testicles from a male horse, and thus end a breed line was done under careful consideration; gelding could sometimes be a dangerous practice costing the life of the horse. Thus, a breeding season was unofficially established between March-April and July-August. Mares come into season faster and longer during the spring and summer months, allowing for a more successful breeding venture. Since mares carry their foals between 10 and 12 months, breeding in the spring and summer would ensure a foal being born during a time of the year when food was the most plentiful and harsh weather

abated. Birthing a healthy foal in the spring and summer would allow for the foal to grow stronger than if it was born in the winter or fall seasons.

In line with the landscape theory outlined by Ingold (1993), the horses were not at the whim of their owners; the owners were at the ultimate whim of their horses. This dependency is reflexed in the way horses were treated; for example the way horses were stabled once the free ranging system of livestock ended. Horses were, and are, expensive to keep, and the placement of barns and stables on the physical landscape in close proximity to the main house, shows the attempt to deter horse theft (White, 1999) and protect a planter's racing investment. Indeed, the barn and stable on the landscape is part and parcel with economic status. Barns and stables had to be large enough to accommodate not only the spacial requirements of livestock, but room for dry fodder and any farming equipment, as well as carriages, tools, and sometimes people. The construction of race tracks also contributed to the colonial landscape; the first race track was constructed as early as 1665 in Long Island (Hale, 1997), and Williamsburg in the colonial era had its own race track. These tracks were very much part of the established landscape, taking place not far from bustling taverns or other centers of colonial life. "A quarter path was often laid out in abandoned fields near popular gathering places such as taverns or courthouses, where races were sometimes rough and tumble affairs"(Historical Marker Society of America, n.d). Taverns were central to colonial life, places to socialize with plenty of food, drink, and various forms of entertainment. Some tavern keepers took it upon themselves to create spaces of gambling and play to

keep customers entertained. “A few tavernkeepers built cockpits and alleys, and some arranged horse races and baits” (Struna, 1991:12).

The archaeology of horse racing and horse breeding is yet to be written or recorded, given the wider array of material culture studies done on other facets of economic colonial life. In the search any published data concerning horse racing, the study of gambling proved to be the most profitable. With studies of the deeper, subconscious, role of gambling in society, I can begin to formulate an anthropological theory that would hopefully provide a framework for any future archaeological work done. Knowing that taverns were often places of formal and informal horse races, and the later establishment of oval race tracks and stadiums, it is possible to begin to piece together a shared material history that would be present at both of these places, and thus begin to provide a historical archaeology of horse racing as a means to express cultural status. Currently, material culture studies that surround horses deal mainly with horse trappings and tack; however, one can argue that the creation of specialized horse breeds acts as a form of material culture. This avenue of material culture can provide a cursory lens to study the creation of economic status markers, but I still wish to provide a more specialized view of horses in the lens of cultural status construction.

To discuss in detail the economics surrounding the history of the race horse, not only must one discuss economic trends and variables over time, but one must also analyze informal economic exchanges; gambling on horse races, construction of race purses, and setting of breeding prices. Brian Stoddart

provides an excellent theoretical framework for his work on British imperialism and sport, drawing on the subconscious nature of learned cultural behavior, and the learned associations with sports and elite sport practices. The very act of presenting high sums of money or wager during a gambling situation keeps the play in motion and reinforces the American drive to take risks and push status (Lear, 1995). In the discussion of economic exchange, John McCusker's work has proved invaluable in dissecting the many forms of currency circulating in the colonies until 1775. The historian Kenneth Cohen also introduces us to the average prices that one could buy or import a race horse, and who could afford to do it. Cohen (2007) provides a brief summary of the cost and winnings of the racehorse Selim owned by Samuel Galloway, and how breeding was used to offset the debt of transportation and personal expenses. A widening Atlantic market in the 18th century allowed for principle economic growth among the planter elite who could afford to export shiploads of horses, timber, salt, and other goods across the oceans. This growth from exportation only increased the imports, thus allowing for more disposable income with which to barter on horse races and spend on horse breeding.

Given the many avenues through which the history of an economic landscape and the construction of status through gaming can be viewed, the lens of horse racing and horse breeding is an overlooked and understudied one. The history of horse racing involves far more than the history of the horses themselves, but encompasses the economy, culture, high society and larger history of the colonial Americas. Following Brian Stoddart, I present the practice

of horses-as-play and the study of gambling provides a framework through which to view such an elite practice. The lens of the horse racing provides an interesting and unstudied facet of an early American practice that through time resulted in our modern horse racing and breeding business and even the creation of the modern American Thoroughbred. The equine lens also provides histories that have yet to be explored or studied in depth. The history of black jockeys, grooms, and stable hands, women equestrians and women in equestrian sports, harness racing, speciality tradesmen, and the creation of other American breeds of horses; the Morgan, Florida Cracker, Tennessee Walker, Rocky Mountain Horse, American Saddlebred, and the Virginia Highlander to name a few of the domestic breeds cultivated for various purposes at different times in history. These breeds needed human intervention to thrive, and a social network to become embedded in cultural practice.

THEORY

One of the biggest developments in the study and use of archaeology is attention to how land, space, and areas of human occupation seem transformed through human action; not only how we have changed the landscape, but how the landscape has changed us. Beginning in the 1950s with Julian's Steward, study of cultural ecology such an approach was taken up by archaeologists. Cultural ecology theory was applied to regional and environmental studies to explain settlement patterns as a means of human adaptation. Human ecology argues that our environment is always dynamic, changing, shifting; operating in

another reality from our own dynamic society; in order to survive and thrive, human occupation has to be responsive to the environment. However, within the last several decades, landscape archaeology has sought to challenge the idea of cultural ecology. The landscape is not a dynamic reality outside of the cultural reality, but a reality perceived to be dynamic; our cultural notions define our landscape and how we interact with it. Mark Leone's work on the gardens of William Paca begin to give a sense of the changing definitions of our landscape and how that can be seen archaeologically. "Leone argues that Paca [a signatory of the Declaration of Independence] used the garden to help support his status in the Chesapeake society and to emphasize continuity in a time of great social change"(Preucel & Mrozowski, 2010:53). The use of landscape theory has broadened to include political and economic landscapes, and in much the same way that our culture defines our landscape, our politics and our economy change the way we view our world.

The work of Tim Ingold has pioneered a more sophisticated understanding of the scale of landscape theory; his "The Temporality of the Landscape" calls for the unity of archaeology and socio-cultural anthropology. He argues that landscape is neither nature, land, nor space but a part of us; everything interacts, thus there is no divide.

A place owes its character to the experiences it affords to those who spend time there-to the sights, sounds, and indeed smells that constitute its specific ambience. And these, in turn, depend on the kinds of activities in which its inhabitants engage. It is from this relational context of people's engagement with the world, in the business of dwelling, that each place draws its unique significance. [Ingold, 2010:62]

This begins Ingold's theory of the landscape as operating as a "taskspace"; a space where our activities shape and define our understanding of our landscape by what we see, hear, and do. Ingold's evaluation of *The Harvesters*, the painting by Pieter Bruegel the Elder, culminates his explanation of landscape theory in a way that is tangible to the lay reader and studied professional. His evaluation of the harvesters resting under a massive tree, a tree that most likely has sat on the landscape throughout the history and memory of the harvesters, serves as a beacon of rest, shade, and idle time. Ingold's evaluation of the painting is what I wish to bring into my work and expand upon in my own way; an evaluation of the historical landscape as a space for interactions between man and equine, as well as an economic landscape that emerges out of the initial task-space of stud and turf and culminates in the unique intertwining of task-space, economy, and culture.

I believe that landscape theory is integral to understanding this work; the interactions between man and beast have occurred since the dawning of time; we cannot avoid each other in nature, culture, or society. My argument is that both the colonists and the animals they encountered in the wild and the domesticated animals they brought with them all interacted and had an impact on each other through their defined natures within the landscape. The colonists cared greatly for their horses as ownership defined social position and status; horses were more than labour animals and general livestock, they were a key to a higher social standing and cultural inclusion. Thus, when horse racing became a widely practiced sport within the colonies, horse ownership became an even

larger cultural step within society; winning a race, whether an official purse or a backstreet bet, meant notoriety and money. The construction of livestock barns, pens, enclosed pastures, and even branding of a horse meant that once equines were seen as intrinsically valuable both personally and culturally, the task-space relationship changed. Once horses began to be viewed as tied economically and culturally to a new status, it is then that a new landscape emerged.

This shift in the task-space between the colonists and the horses created a different landscape than the one that preceded it. Both human and horse were not only defined by their relation to each other within the landscape and their changes to it, but now the relationship became to be defined economically. What was once a cultural institution became a social institution when the focus began to shift towards economic gain. This is what I refer to as the economic landscape that evolved out of Ingold's theory of task-space. An economic landscape is one that I define by the change made to the task-space by the shifting of a habitual interaction to an economic one that mars the traditional task-space; the building of enclosed pens for livestock, imposing barns, secured stalls, and most importantly, race tracks. This marks a shift from the cultural task-space to an economic culture and social institution.

The economist and historian Stuart Bruchey (1987) states simply that economic institutions are social institutions, a sentiment that I firmly adhere to, especially within my data and in my theory. Once the cultural task-space shifted to include economy, the relationship between humans and their horses became a societal institution; a means to gain and secure power, money, fame, and a

legacy. It is not to say that the colonist all of a sudden realized that with their horses and their pastime of racing they could create an entirely new economic and societal system; racing had already been long established in England and Europe. What had changed for the colonists was, at first, their horses and their landscape, but they quickly accommodated to create an institution that defined American turf racing and the American horse. This task-space shift also created a disparity in social classes; since horses were an expensive investment, and the trend towards premier pedigrees and racing sought to broaden the social divide. Within the physical landscape of the colonies, those that could afford the land available to house livestock did so, and often on major waterways so as to facilitate agricultural growth and trade.

Thus, with an approach shifting emphasis from landscape to the economic task-space, much in the vein of Stuart Bruchey, a social institution begins to define itself economically. Money has, and will, continue to change the relationship that society maintains with its institutions, but what it can create can last through history and the ages. The data within the Virginia Gazette clearly shows the actions taken by the elite to create a horse that could propel their name and fortunes into history and some did succeed in doing so. However, we have to remember that what is now one of the largest institutions in America, that of the American turf and stud, once started as a natural relationship that defined itself in a cultural reality unmarred by social institutions.

METHOD

For this study, the stallion advertisements were analyzed statistically with the assumption that if there was an established breeding season of race horses, then surely there must be a race season. Why else would these owners be touting their stallion's racing achievements across nearly a quarter of the ad space if there wasn't a race that was won? To identify social patterns, economic trends and taskspace in race horse breeding, the information within the advertisements must be compared across set variables, thus providing a way to statistically study trends on the landscape. While the volume of horse racing ads are quite low compared to the massive amount of breeding ads printed, it none the less shows that these practices were happening side by side, and one certainly affected the other. If one particular stallion became famous for winning match races, those winnings were reflected in his breeding and foal price, and his foals would proudly print their lineage when it was their chance at the race line and breeding barn.

GENERAL HISTORY

Originally, the predecessor to our modern equine emerged in North American and spread to Eurasia some 4 million years ago, but had died out by the end of the Pleistocene era in North America, between 13,000 and 11,000 years ago. However, prehistoric equines and their modern ancestors survived and flourished in Africa, Asia, and Europe (Kirkpatrick & Fazio, 2008). Until

European contact, the horse was unknown to North America. The Spanish conquistadors brought with them native horses from Spain, and these horses were either stranded, stolen, or set free by the Spanish colonists throughout the 1500s, left to roam and survive on their own. These Spanish mustangs were ancestors to the American Mustang, the Keiger Mustangs, the Banker horses in North Carolina's Outer Banks, the Cumberland Island horses off the coast of Georgia, the intermixed Nokota herd in North Dakota and the wild ponies that live in the Chincoteague and Assateague Islands in Virginia. These wild horses are currently protected under the United States Law of The Wild Free-Roaming Horses and Burros Act of 1971 (Public Law 92-195) and are classified as "living sprits" of the West and the continued spirit of the first pioneers. This law, however, has not stopped some from declaring wild horses an invasive species and many have attempted to amend the law to allow for their numbers to be reduced, or for the few classified roaming herds to be moved. Many states, especially out west, will hold special round ups and auctions to control the numbers of wild horses, but there has also been controversy surrounding the ethical treatment of our wild horses. There is still ongoing debate on how best to deal with the numbers of roaming herds that can, and have, encroached on to private and agricultural land.

When the English arrived on new soil, their horses served as a connection to the English way of life in the new world. Horse racing in England has an established history, and the horse culture in not only England but Europe as a whole has a long and deep history. The layperson and the monarchy today still

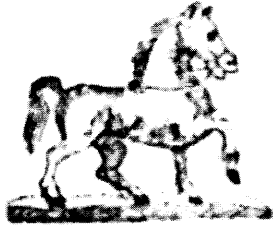
enjoy the national races at Newmarket and horse shows abound in the country side. The royal family still attends many equestrian sporting events, and members of the monarchy have competed in equestrian sports at the national and international level. In the new colonies the practice of horse racing reinforced cultural norms and social status. As racing became more popular and profitable for the planter class in the colonies, increased importation of English race horses and foreign breeds began to fortify the native colonial horses for speed and strength. The formula was a simple one; a faster, stronger, horse won the most races and the most purses.

First published in 1736 in Williamsburg, the Virginia Gazette newspaper served as the primary source of all of the colonial comings and goings. The newspaper's publication in Williamsburg ended in 1780 when the capital was moved to Richmond but within that span of time, the advertisements and classifieds for all manner of services remains remarkable, similar to classifieds we would see today in our own newspapers; such as that is illustrated below

Figure 1

BRUNSWICK, Feb. 28, 1777.

A P O L L O



WILL cover Mares the ensuing
Season at his usual Price. He is perfectly sound,
and free from Blemish. **APOLLO** was got by
FEARNOUGHT, his Dam by the CULLEN ARA-
BIAN, her Dam was the noted Mare called LADY
THIGH, got by GRIZZARD's PARTNER, her
Grandam by GREYHOUND, her Great Grandam
by the CURWEN BAY BARR, which Mare was the Dam of SOPHA-
NISEA, remarkable for her high Form and great Speed. -- This Pedigree
of **APOLLO's** Dam was attested by his Grace the Duke of *Kingston*.

(1)

RICHARD ELLIOTT.

Naturally, the stallion's name appears in bold face type, with information on the horse's age, bearing, lineage, and possibly recent winnings or accomplishments. Then a price is set with three options; a price per season (length of breeding period, usual the spring and summer), price per leap (a one time affair) and the price to ensure the pregnancy of the mare. Next is where the stallion will be offering his services, either at the property of the subscriber or owner, or a defined and known location. Lastly would be listed the names of the subscriber of the ad and the owner of the horse. Little has changed in the way stallion advertisements are published today, although it is mostly done digitally, and with an option for frozen samples to be sent as part of a price package. However the list of stallion achievements, physical description, and where one might want to find the horse remains the same. In running stallion advertisements from the early 1740s to the end of the Virginia Gazette's Williamsburg publication in 1780, it becomes clear that there was something going on in the world of colonial

horses that allowed for such a detailed and established practice to grow, thrive, and continue into today.

The practice of keeping the sire's name, or some part of the sire's name, in the names of foals survives today; a practice that the colonists took very seriously. The data shows what appears to be the same stallion spanning the advertisements for many years, longer than even the natural lifespan of a horse. However, in viewing the fine details, it shows that stallions passed on their name from father to son, as it were, to construct a lineage that needed no written pedigree. Using combinations of both the dam and sire's names to create a foal's name is seen mostly in the world of today's Thoroughbred racing, Western sport horses, and confirmation competitions. By showing lineage with a name, a foal's name represents the process of time that went into breeding a combination of genes, personality, showmanship, and confirmation. This practice made it possible to track lineages of race horses through time.

The first horses brought to the colonies from England were considered "hobby horses" (Cohen, 2007); Irish and English sport horses, and riding mounts. These horses were considered suitable for sport hunting, leisure riding, and the occasional plow or carriage pull. Once imported and settled into the Virginia colonies, these English equines began to be bred to the wild decedents of the Spanish horses, already established in Virginia and the Carolina's coasts. This interbreeding of the imported English and wild Spanish horses created what was termed a "quarter horse"; a medium sized, compact, strong, agile, and swift horses that proved perfect for racing a quarter mile with considerable speed.

Whether or not the colonists created the quarter horse with the intention of racing in mind, or the interbreeding was at first a natural process between populations living in the same area, the quarter horse became the first step in the selective breeding process with a specific outcome in mind; speed and power. With this process of selective breeding, the creation of established breeding pedigrees can also be seen. An official stud book would not be created until 1791, to chronicle the stallions available at stud for breeding, their pedigrees, and the pedigrees of foreign horses. In my research, I use the General Stud book printed in 1808; a new edition is published every year or so, but the first edition and the editions thereafter have long since been lost or in private keeping. The 1808 General Stud is also the only edition to be reprinted, digitized, and available for public viewing.

Pedigrees allowed for a potential buyer of the foal to know exactly who the foal's dam (mother) and sire (father) are, but can also determine what kind of potential strengths and weaknesses the foal might have. For example; if a foal's dam was an Irish sport horse and its sire was an English Thoroughbred, a buyer can assume that the foal would not only be very fast and powerful over short distances (traits of a Thoroughbred), but can also maintain speed and strength over long distances (traits of a sport horse). If the potential buyer wished to pass on these traits to other potential foals, then a pedigree becomes a user manual of temperament, confirmation, power, and speed.

Just as pedigrees can be used to extend a line of traits, pedigrees can also be used to end a line of traits. Selective castration was used to keep

unwanted traits from entering a pedigreed line; accidents did and still happen in the horse breeding business. Any stallion that was considered unfit to breed would be castrated, and become a gelding.

In combination with the passage of laws attempting to limit the ownership of breeding horses to landed individuals, and others allowing the killing of wild or unclaimed horses under 14 hands high, it is possible that an elite breeding system was in operation in Virginia even before the formalization of pedigrees. [Peck, 2008:10]

This practice continues today; probably even more-so than in the past, as the process has become medically safer and only very experienced equestrians can handle a stallion, or even be allowed to own one. The modern American Thoroughbred is given only a limited number of chances on the turf to prove their potential worth in the stud business, and if they do not impress, they are gelded and sold.

In the colonies these new quarter horses were used to ride, hunt, tow, and race, making those who were successful very wealthy in the process. However, these English, Spanish, and quarter horses were not the only horses present in the colonies; a far more unique breed was present as well. It is theorized that Nathaniel Harrison imported the first Arabian horses in 1747, but it is possible that the Arabian horse had been imported earlier due to their popularity Spain and later in England (Greene, 1986). These expensive imports began the trend of breeding imported Arabian and English stallions to the already established colonial quarter horse. This interbreeding would ultimately create the unique American Thoroughbred that we know today. The introduction of the Arabian horse to both the English Thoroughbred and colonial quarter horse allowed for a

unique genetic combination that proved gold to those in the colonial racing industry. The Arabian horse hails from the Middle East and is strong and fast as it is lithe and little, with endurance that rivals the camel. The Arabian horse and other genetic varieties in India, China, and Africa evolved to become very light in their frame, with delicate features and thin skin; the better to stay cool in hot, arid, climates without water. Arabian horses are used today in many disciplines, but are renowned for their endurance through less than ideal conditions. These little horses were introduced to the English race horses to bolster their endurance and give them the speed over distance unlike anything seen before. Three specific Arabian horses are credited with the creation of all Thoroughbreds, both American and English, as foundation stallions; The Godolphin Arabian, Darley Arabian and Byerley Turk. Named for their owners, with Arabian pedigrees that have been lost, but none the less influential with English breeders, these foundation stallions proved the rock with which to build an entirely new breed of horse. These three horses were imported with the purpose of combining their strengths with the strengths of both American and English horses to create an entirely new breed with two purposes; to race and win.

The English colonists were exceedingly fond of their horses; Hugh Jones said in 1724 that a “gentleman would go wandering for endless hours and miles in the woods to catch his free ranging horse only to ride for two hours to church and back” (Gill, 1997). With horses being imported to the colonies first for draft work and pleasure riding, the sport of horse racing quickly developed to pass the time, make (and sometimes win) bets and wagers, and in the process prove the

worth of a man and his horse. It should be noted that only the wealthiest members of the colonies could afford to import and breed horses. Shipping was an extremely costly venture and if the horse made it from shore to shore alive, general upkeep and maintenance would cost the owner much over the lifetime of his horse. Horse theft was an extremely common crime in the colonies; if the Virginia Gazette's plethora of "Stolen Horse" advertisements are any indication. A stolen horse meant the theft of status, a stripping of worth. The use of heat brands on horses, unique identifiers with any combination of letters, numbers and symbols, sought to curb theft and at the same time, claim ownership.

The colonists not only liked their horses fast, but well behaved and quick to respond. A planter's worth was often measured in his horsemanship; anyone who could tame and ride an unruly horse was certainly respected, and a successful race horse made the planter all that more respectable. Often, Virginia planters spoke about their horses much in the same way they spoke about themselves, implying a shared link of value (Peck, 2008). Ownership and proper handling of a horse was part of the planter's self expression and his worth in the colonial world. The better a man's horse, the better the man.

A horse was an extension of its owner; indeed, a man was only as good as his horse. Because of the horse's cultural significance, the gentry attempted to set its horsemanship apart from that of the common planters. Gentlemen took better care of their animals...[Breen, 1977:243]

The worth of the planter was also measured in liquid assets. High stakes and high wagers were placed on these informal horse races at fairs and gatherings. Indeed, gambling was part and parcel to the horse races, and

allowed for the establishment and reinforcement of status through a small community of wealthy planters. "It is important to recognize here that admission to the playing ranks in many sports was guarded jealously, not for reasons of ability but because of concerns about status, social respectability, and group relations"(Stoddart, 1988:666). The first record of a high stakes race was in 1674, found in court records of York County, when James Bullocke bet 2,000 pounds of tobacco on a mare against Mr. Mathew Slader. The court case shows that Bullocke's creation of the high stakes race was contrary to the 'Law of a Labourer' and Slader's cheat on the field earned him one hour in the stocks (W.G.S, 1895). Two thousands pounds of tobacco was a hefty sum to wager on a horse race, but the nature of the bet itself is telling as well. The first advertised race in the Virginia Gazette appears in December 1739 and as follows;

There was a Horse Race round the Mile Course [at Williamsburg] the First Day [of the fair], for a Saddle of Forty Shillings Value. Eight Horses started, by sound of Trumpet; the Colonel Cheswell's Horse Edgecomb came in First, and won the Saddle; Mr. Cocke's Horse Sing'd Cat came in Second and won the Bridle of Twelve Shillings Value; and Mr. Drummond's Horse-Came in the Third and won the Whip. [Parks, 1739:3]

Equine tack and equipment is no inexpensive investment, and if one could win a new saddle with a horse race then it was certainly done; as illustrated by Colonel Cheswell. Horses also required feed, vetting, shoeing, and tack, as well as general upkeep of the stable and pastures, if the horses were not free ranging. Along with saddles and tack, the use of carriages and other extra strappings speaks to the expense and social cost of horses. Larger, more elaborate carriages sometimes required more than one horse to draw them

resulting in two, three, or four horse carriage teams. Those who had the wealth even went so far as to match their carriage pairs; better to be colored coordinated than risk a social faux pas. The more horses required, the more expense needed to maintain them. Racing one's horse could garner income, and the more races won meant more money for more successful race horses.

If an owner imported the horse from Britain, transport costs brought the total purchase price to over £300 sterling. The cheapest native thoroughbred cost no less than £100, a sum greater than half of the personal estates in the region...Out of necessity then, owners of top thoroughbreds attempted to counterbalance the high cost by gaining a return from the animals. An owner earned money from a thoroughbred in three ways; racing, breeding, and selling. [Cohen, 2007:311]

With such expenses, it is indeed easy to see how a business of horse breeding and horse racing developed to include and encompass the wealthy elite. Before the colonists starting breeding an "American" Thoroughbred, those that could afford to import English Thoroughbreds did so. The importation of English Thoroughbred horses began in 1730 when the stallion Bulle Rock was imported by Samuel Gist of Hanover County (Robertson, 1964). The cost of breeding reflects this high cost in purchase price alone, and the more successful a planter's horse was at the races, the more they could charge in breeding to pay down transportation and upkeep costs. Only the winners took home the purse, with no money being paid to those who placed second and third. Bad bets also cost owners several pounds if they bet on the wrong horse; a sentiment many betters face today at the races.

MONEY

The currency that the advertisements in Virginia Gazette advertisements is mainly the currency of Britain; pounds, shillings, guinea, and pence. Other types of currency, the Spanish pistole and the Virginia Dollar, and acts of barter also appear, so it becomes increasingly necessary to discuss the nature of the currency involved and the assumed worth of the financial transaction. The work of economic historian John McCusker can help in understanding assumed worth of currency between the colonies and Britain, as well as determine an accurate rate of exchange, and give some clarity to the maze of colonial currency before the establishment of fixed rates and coinage. It was not uncommon for colonies to adopt the currency of their homeland; indeed, it makes sound financial sense. However, colonial pounds were worth less than British pounds and it is misleading to assume that the rate of conversion between the colonies and the British motherland was 1:1.

It is distinctly misleading, therefore, to refer to any colonial currency as if it had the same local value as that of the other country-even if the colonists themselves called their money "sterling" or whatever. They meant, of course, "sterling" in notation only, since everyone appreciated two facts: First, that little or no English coinage circulated in the colonies-it was money by account only-and, second, that no sum in the colonial money of account could ever buy precisely the same sum in sterling...These costs would regularly mean that to buy a sum in London one would need more than that sum in colonial money. [McCusker, 1978:120-121]

This proves extremely difficult when attempting to discuss colonial currency in today's financial terms. What I hope to show, despite the difficulty in discussing colonial exchange, is the worth of the transaction. Because the advertisements

in the Virginia Gazette discuss many forms of colonial currency but do not deal with any form of exchange to Britain or Europe, a large part of the maze of currency can be left unexplored for now. In none of the advertisements is there a mention of any form of British exchange, so we do not have to contend with the worth of exchange between the colonies and the homeland. What we do have to contend with is the assumed worth of transaction between colonists; some ads will ask for a set price, but if the price can not be paid with currency, the transaction would still be legal if another form of exchange is met; a pound of tobacco or seasonable produce. These alternative transactions appear in the Virginia Gazette, though not with a high number of frequency. What remains frequent is the use of British currency, the Spanish pistole, and the Virginia dollar. I hope to give some clarity of the worth prescribed to the various currencies, as well as establish a baseline for comparing prices and services rendered.

Like any other economic institution as it relates to society, in times of social strife and windfall the economics reflect the social barometer in peaks and valleys. It is no different when analyzing the multiple components that make up the Virginia Gazette data set; prices and money rises and falls to accommodate society and larger cultural forces. The dates of my data falls before and during the American Revolution, and it is extremely interesting to note that during the years of the 1775 to 1780 (the date in which the data ends) there is clearly those who have the time and money to continue with this specialized breeding, as illustrated with the charts below (Charts 1-3).

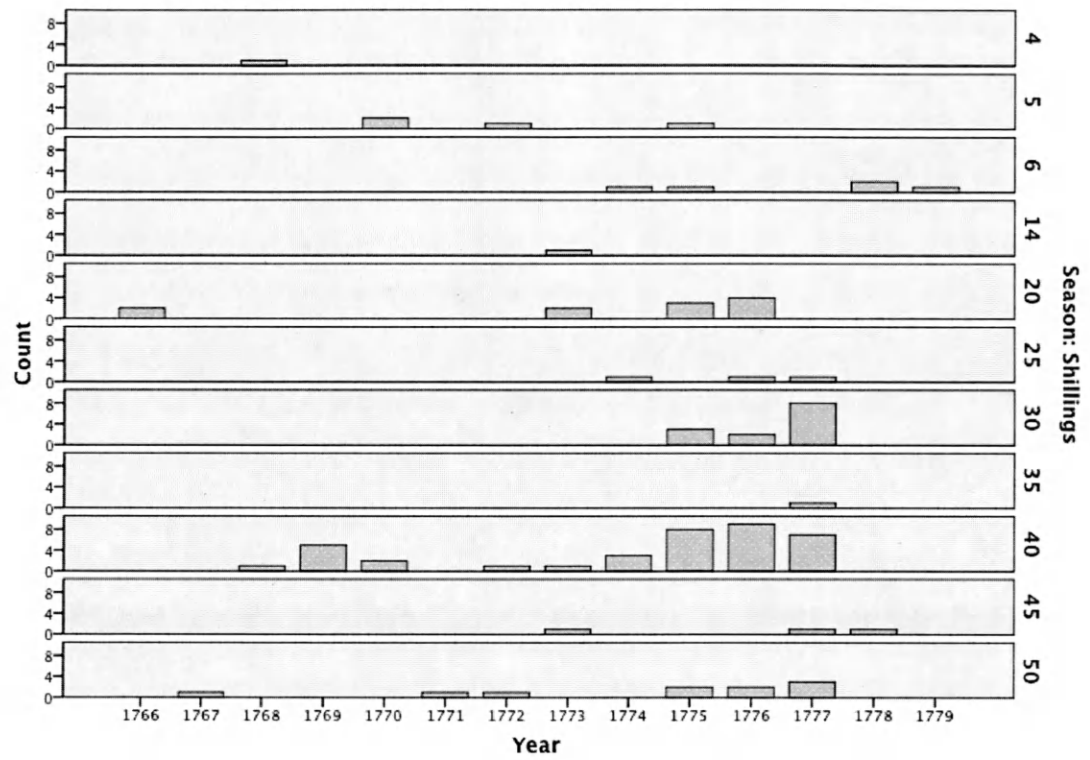


Chart 1: Season Shillings by Year

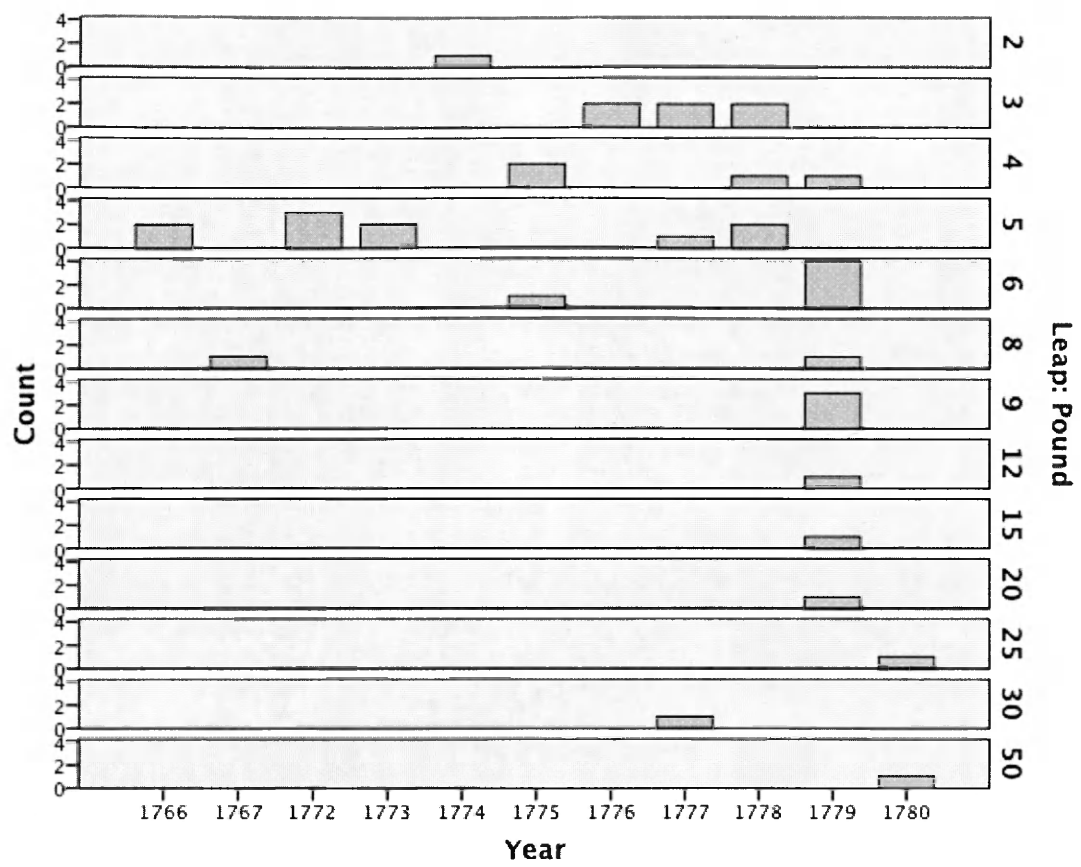


Chart 2: Leap: Pounds by Year

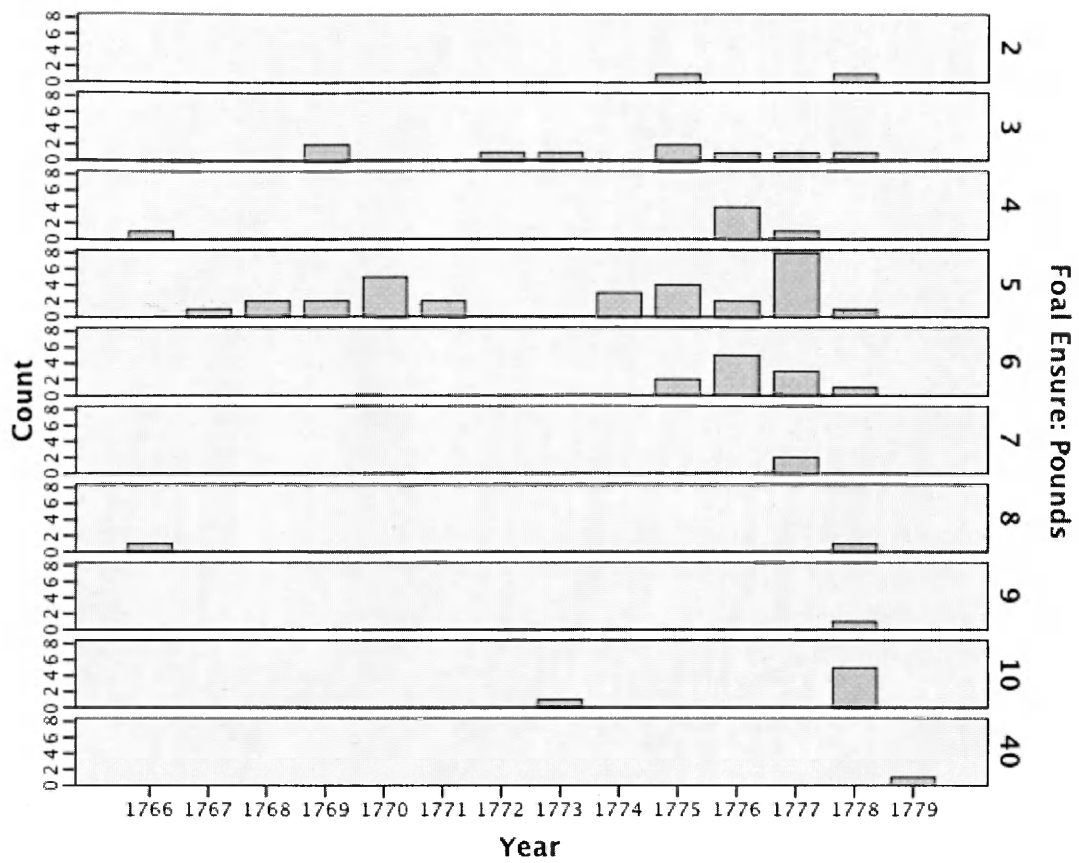


Chart 3: Foil Ensure: Pounds by Year

Clearly, within the data, the date ranges of 1775 to 1779 show an almost consistent growth in prices, in spite of the fact that the Revolutionary War was being fought.

COMMUNITY

Humor has been used historically to accomplish many tasks; to enrage, to educate, to parody, or to shame. The few instances that I have found that mock the breeding advertisements speaks volumes to the practice of the elite and their perceived community of horse-obsession. Hidden amongst the more serious advertisements was a humorous parody of the breeding ads, clearly poking fun at the seriousness and high-handedness the real advertisements contained, taking great pains to imitate the ads that list the many accomplishments of a stallion, well deserved or not, as well as the purposeful non-mention of a pedigree, and the constant reference of available pasturage for mares;

TUMBLING TOM: Now Ri[s]ing 8 years 13 hands and 1 inch High Stands This Sea[s]on at Colloden & will Cover mares at 5s. The leap and 3s. 9d. The Sea[s]on his Coular nor pedigree ant Worth mentioning I will not be accountable for aney Mares that Shall be Lo[s]t for I have no pa[s]teridge Some Gentlemens Cureo[s]ety may lead them So fare as be de[s]irous of knowing What his Name derive from Which may be done in a few Words that is when Rod he often Tips all nine & follows the bole. H. Lae [Rind, 1774:4]

Not only where the ads parodied for jest, but some subscribers went so far as to create a small jingle for the stallion, to make them more memorable. Much like advertising today, if your product can be called out as different, then you've already done business. The advertisement is for a draft ("dray") horse, but the subscriber, Thomas M. Randolph, owned a number of race horses and appears several times in the Virginia Gazette data. Clearly, Randolph decided that a more creative approach was needed to sell his product. Unfortunately, this is the only jingle related to any horse, draft or not, in the Virginia Gazette, but it's lone

presence is enough to suggest a well read and well established breeding organization; one can even assume that Randolph possessed a sense of humor about this business:

In Verina there [s]tands
A hor[s]e [s]ixteen hands
in order for [s]ubagitation
The farms allow/ For the cart or the plow
The breed is the best in the nation
From Britain he came/ GOLIAH's his name
A day, both active and [s]tout
He'll do his endeavor/ To treat with full mea[s]ure
Each female that wants it no doubt. THOMAS M. RANDOLPH
[Purdie & Dixon, 1768:2]

Other advertisements, separate from the breeding section, list the many accomplishments of the horses, including a lengthy race record and purses won, as well as expansive pedigrees that will list almost every well known race horse in the colonies at the time, whether it is true or not. These supplementary advertisements served to bolster the renown of the horse as well as the renown of his owner, who no doubt spent a fair amount of time and money to spread his horse's name and reputation.

Since the social world of the elite was fairly small, I hope to explore the business relationships between those planters who bought, sold, and breed horses to each other, and what was exchanged between. Both the stud books of Samuel Galloway and John Tayloe reveal the vast interconnectedness of horse breeding at the time, establishing both premiere pedigrees for horses and valuable relationships between the elite.

Tayloe's studs serviced mares belonging to Corbins, Carters, Thorntons, and Fitzhughs, all prominent planters in northern Virginia. He also dealt

with leading Maryland planters and government officers Edward Lloyd, Benjamin Tasker, and Samuel Ogle. Galloway's clients included such non-local notables as Philadelphia Jockey Club president John Allen and the famed British officer...Col. Henry Bouquet. [Cohen, 2007:330]

Though the stud books list a large number of prominent figure heads and families of the age, not everyone could become so successful at the practice of racing and breeding. One lost race or an unsuccessful breeding season could cost both a planter and his horse their reputations. It took a lot of time and capital to have a successful racehorse that succeeded in not only the races, but also at breeding; such a combination of success was difficult to find and a problem that plagues many Thoroughbred owners today. What seems the most interesting thus far, and something that I will deal with in detail further on, is the fascinating lack of advertised owners and subscribers. Though a large number of owner and subscriber names appear in the advertisements, the names rarely, if ever, appear in the General Stud book, begging many questions to the owner's ability to market their horses, or any possible issues of money.

Horse racing was, and still is, a large scale community event, as witnessed by the massive draws of crowds during the running of the Triple Crown, Breeders Cup or Kentucky Oaks today. This community draw remained largely unchanged through the history of the turf, and as described in the diary of John Harrower, a Scottish immigrant to the colonies, the community of the turf is still full of vibrancy and community, including theft if you weren't looking;

Wednesday, 5th. This day a Horse race at Fredericksburg for Fifty pound, and it was gain'd by a Horse belonging to Col' Tailo.

Thursday, 6th. This day a Horse race at Fredericksburg for Fifty pound, and it was gained by a Horse belonging to M. Fitchew.

Friday, 7th. The race this day at Fredericksburg for Fifty pound was gained again by another Horse belonging to M. Fitchew.

Saturday, 8th. This day the races at Fredericksburg was finished and this night finishes the Puppet shows, roape dancings &c, which has continued every night this week in town. I only seed the purse of a Hundred Guineas run for, and that day I hade the Misfortune to have my Horse, saddle and bridle stole from me, while I was doing some business in town. And I never could hear, nor get any intelligence of either of them again. [Harrower, 1773:87]

Horse races at festivals, carnivals, and any other type of celebrations or coming-together was very common even if they were very informal and unadvertised.

Formal horse races drew an impressive and moneyed crowd, and the hosts of these races are still known today; Newmarket Planation and it's grounds outside of Petersburg were considered the foremost turf on which to race in the colonial and post-Revolutionary era (Wyatt, 1937) and is an often seen named in the Virginia Gazette data as a stud location. Williamsburg was also known for it's race track, but it's location is difficult to determine given the lack of accurate records. Nevertheless, Williamsburg is also a well known stud location in the data, speaking to the well connection turf and stud community that had established itself in the colonial era.

CHAPTER TWO

SPECIFIC HISTORY OF TWO STALLIONS: PARTNER AND TRAVELLER

The data presented in the Virginia Gazette advertisements is expansive. The numbers of stallions referenced, where they are standing at stud and owned by whom, their prices and their race history proves to be a lot of data for dissection. However, to give a more focused view the stallions that appear with the most frequency in the Virginia Gazette, but also in the 1808 edition of the General Stud book, will be discussed first. The stud book lists established pedigrees for not only Thoroughbred stallions in Britain and the colonies, but also lists pedigrees for broodmares and their offspring. This comparison of data, between the advertisements of the stallions, to the listing of their broodmares and offspring allows for a larger understand of the interconnectedness of the racing world, and in turn, the people involved and the money exchanged. It should be noted that some stallions are related to each other, no doubt owing their breeding frequency to their stacked pedigree, leading me believe that these stallions had the most influence on the breeding and racing world. Only with a more specific look into each stallion's history and influence can more data be gleaned. I plan to present each stallion by the year that they appear first in my data, so that if any relationship exists between stallions, it can be more easily established.

The General Stud Book, first published in 1791, lists all of the known pedigrees of both American and English racehorses, as well as brood mares and racing fillies. There is no mention of broodmares in the Virginia Gazette advertisements, a surprising lack of information that makes it difficult in trying to

establish pedigrees for similarly named horses. Mares were raced alongside stallions and geldings, and just as there were stallions whose pedigrees were sought after, the same holds true for a select group of mares; most notably the mare Selima, owned by Benjamin Tasker Jr in Maryland. In 1752, she won one of the largest purses ever offered at a horse race; 2,500 pistoles in Gloucester, Virginia (Deubler, 2002). Her racing record made her a heavily sought after broodmare, and many of her foals went on to become racing champions in their own right. Selima is considered one of the most important foundation mares to the American Thoroughbred, and her prodigy can still be found on the race tracks today.

The General Stud is still published today, but that edition has since been lost; thus, the 1808 edition is the earliest date for correspondence with my data. Since the General Stud was published in 1808, a much later date than the time span of my data, the listed pedigrees of much earlier American and English racers has been modified, changed, or simply lost. If a stallion did not show much promise on the racecourse or at stud, his name and pedigree simply wouldn't have been listed. Using the 1808 version, I can show not only the passage of horses over time, but also those horses whose history and pedigree were well established and respected by the racing community.

I will be presenting the stallions with the most traceable data, by the order of their complexity; the first to show a more straightforward and linear approach in analysis and the second for the myriad of data and how to unravel it. For the sake of brevity, I will be presenting only two stallions; Partner and Traveller.

However, it should be noted early on that “Partner” and “Traveller” actually refer to several different stallions under the same name and operating around the same time, thus adding to the complexity of analysis. Also, these stallions are not related to each other directly by pedigree, even though at first glance it would appear that way. To keep the stallions in question clear, I will refer to the stallions under their owner’s names, or sires names, so as to keep each separate from the other. However, with the data collected and charted, it will become much easier to trace each stallion, their offspring, and their breeding careers while keeping all named stallions separate and coherent.

PARTNER

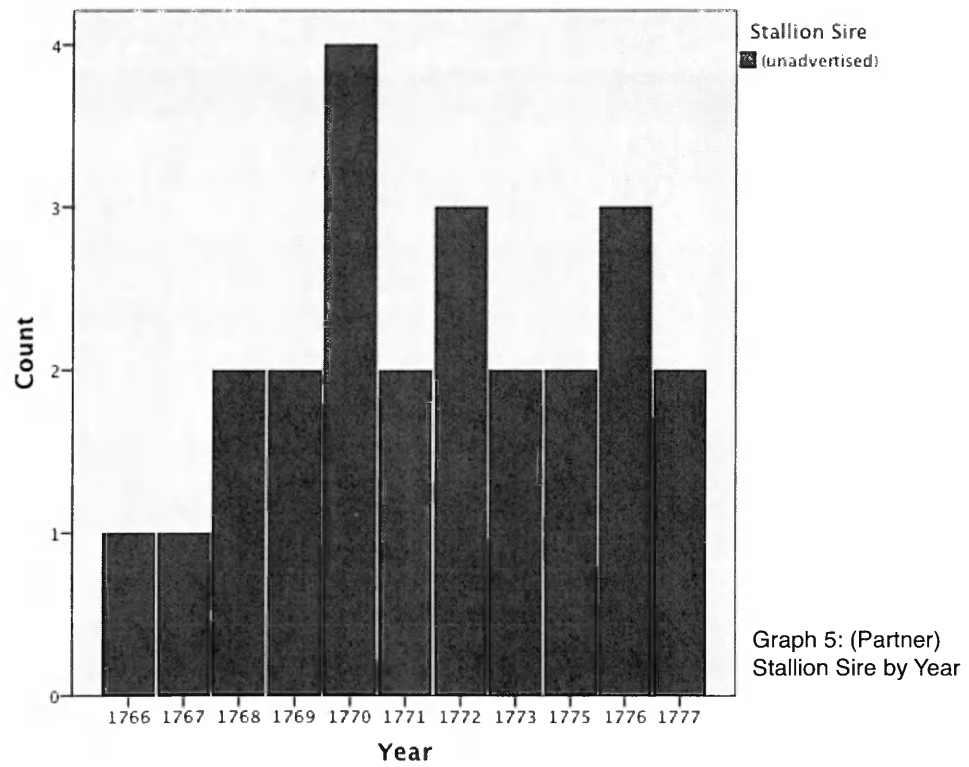
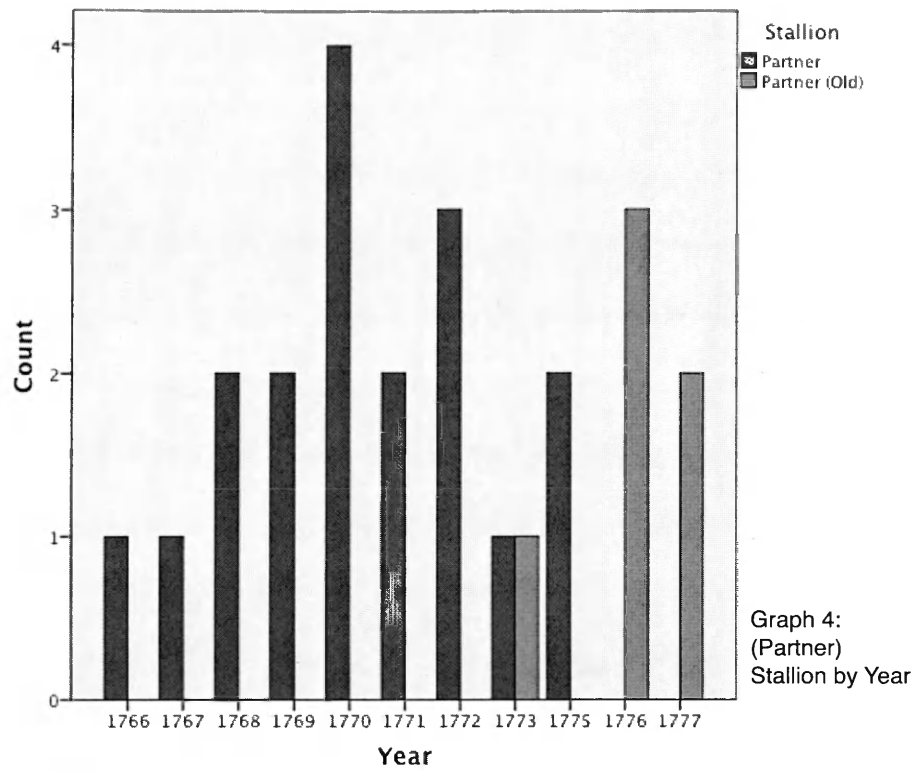
The stallion Partner remains one of the most well known race horses and prolific stallions in the colonial period, but very little is known of his pedigree, if at all. One of the first stallions of the turf remains a historical mystery, but his influence can certainly be traced, even if his own lineage can not. There are several stallions listed under the name “Partner” in the General Stud; luckily, one of which is the stallion mentioned in the Virginia Gazette;

PARTNER, (Moore's) Bred by the Duke of Bolton, imported into Virginia 1766. Sec page 294. Wyllie Jones, Herbert Haynes. [Skinner, 1808:1034]

PARTNER, Bred by Richard Croft— by Partner— Godolphin Arabian— Fox— Childers— Makeless — Taffolet Barb— Natural Barb Mare. Richard Crofts. [Skinner, 1808:1034]

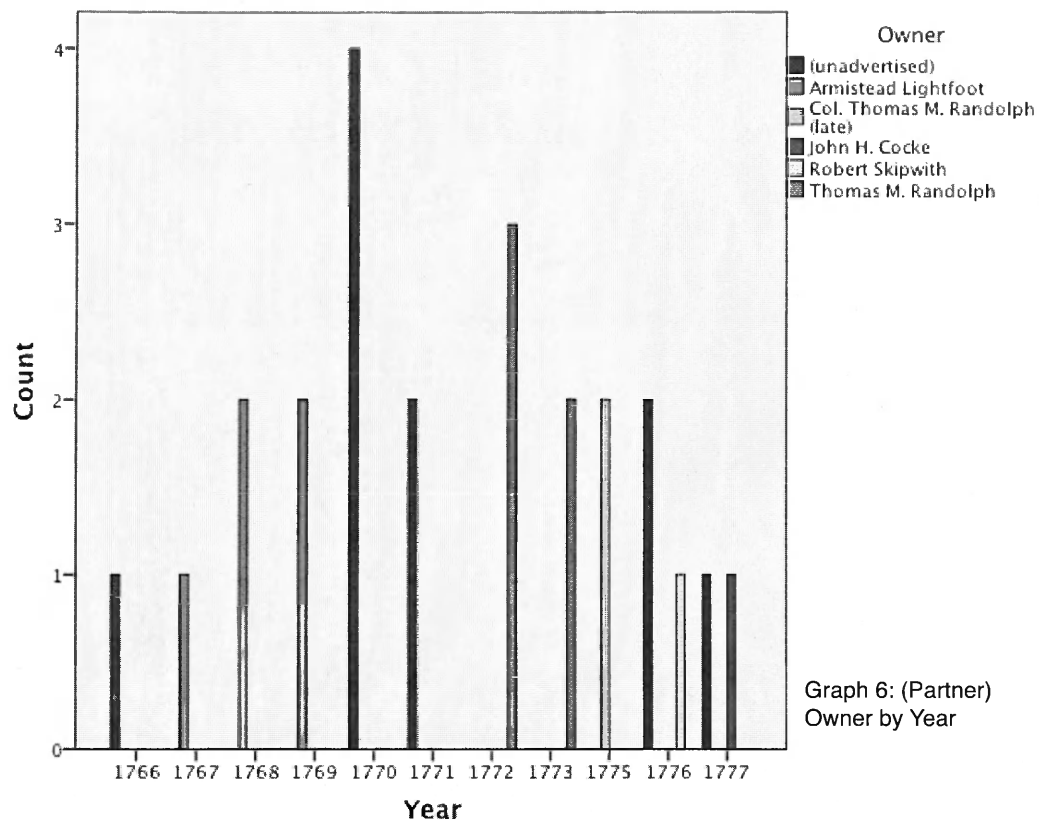
Moore’s Partner is mentioned has having been bred by Curwen’s Bay Barb (Skinner, 1808) which would make the Partner stallion in Virginia half Arabian,

half English Thoroughbred, making him a very valuable specimen of a racehorse and in hot contention for breeding rights in both England and in the colonies once he was imported in 1766. "Croft's Partner" is mentioned several times in the General Stud, as is "Bright's Partner" who sired the famous Virginian race horse Eclipse. However, Moore's Partner was not the first stallion by that name in the colonies; another preceded him, as evidenced by the listed sires of the Traveller stallions. This first Partner is listed as one of many stallions imported to the colonies prior to the Revolution and whose pedigrees have been lost or otherwise misplaced (Skinner, 1808). However, the mention of Moore's Partner having been imported to Virginia in the same year that a Partner stallion appears in the Virginia Gazette is certainly no mistake. I surmise that Moore's Partner is the only Partner operating in Virginia, even if his ownership has changed hands. First appearing in the Virginia Gazette data in 1766, Partner is one of the first stallions being advertised for his breeding services. Listings for this Partner most likely end in 1777, as it is in 1773 we begin to see advertisements for a stallion listed as Old Partner; see Graphs 4 and 5 below



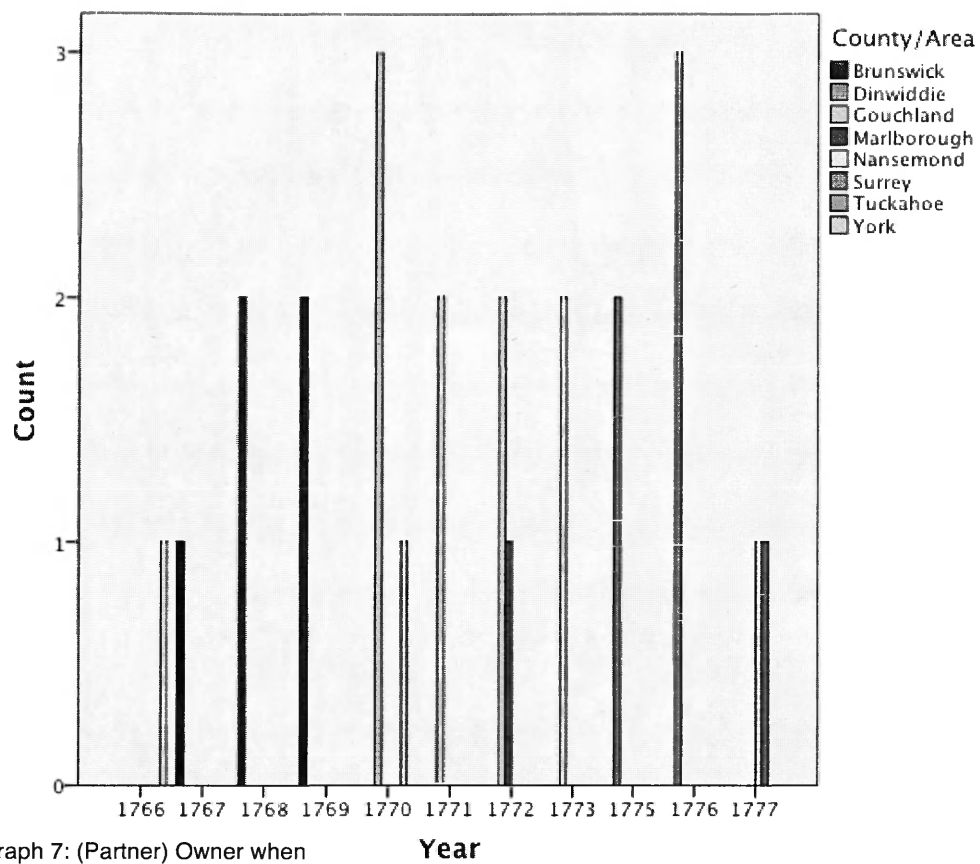
It could be possible that the listed Partner and Old Partner are the same horse; if Partner was imported to the colonies as a yearling or colt, he would have only been two to three years of age, as it is very common to break four year old weanling for saddle. Thus, while it is uncommon that a fourteen year old stallion would still be at stud, it was not unheard of, especially if Partner had an extensive and noteworthy pedigree as well as racing record following him around Virginia. A record, that should be noted, was never openly advertised at any point with he was at stud. It is possible that since he was half Arabian, half Thoroughbred that his pedigree might not have had to have been listed, given that he already carried foreign blood that was so desirable. Partner's reputation and pedigree might have followed him from England. With the listing of an "Old Partner" appearing in 1773, Partner would have been about seven years old, and he might have been retired from racing at that point, and thus became listed as "Old Partner" while stilling maintaing his stud services.

Thus widening our base of analysis, we can accurately view the listed owners of Partner as well as establish a pattern of movement from one county to another over the years that he was listed for stud. The data of the owners is an interesting set of variables, as owners were not always publicly listed or the owners might have been several people operating in a partnership, much the same way a business does, with many branches doing many types of work. See ownership data below (Graph 6);

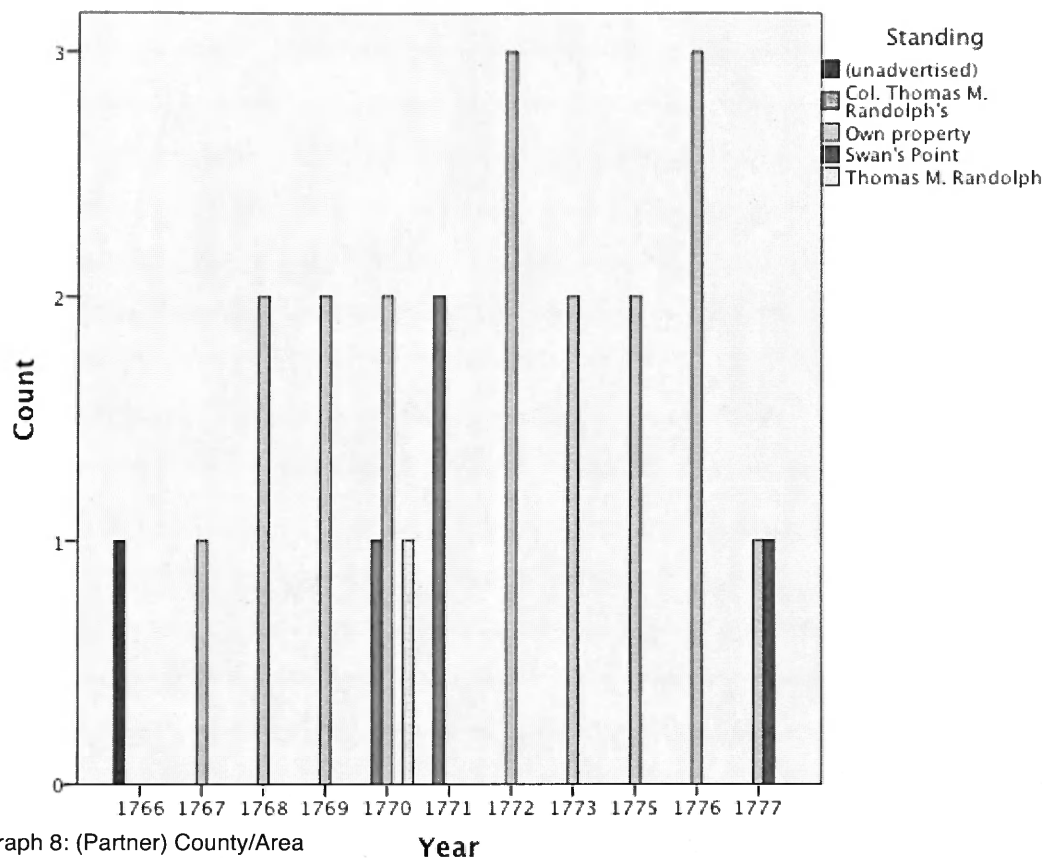


Clearly, Partner changed hands several times throughout his career at stud, with 1770 being his busiest year in terms of advertising. With the above graph, we can see a fairly clean transition between owners, but the below graph that shows where Partner was being advertised at stud shows an even cleaner transition of owners, as well as interested third parties, as indicated by the listing of Swan's Point in the Standing graph (Chart 7). While none of the listed owners show up in the General Stud, it does not mean that Partner's owners were not known to history. The Armistead Lightfoot in question is possibly the same that died in 1772 and an inventory of his estate shows quite a bit of horse and racing

related items, though it was not uncommon for all gentlemen to ride and race for sport and leisure (Colonial Williamsburg, n.d). The mention of Col. Thomas M. Randolph is more of an intriguing mystery; he is not the same Thomas Randolph that was the son-in-law of Thomas Jefferson, but possibly his father, Thomas Randolph Sr. Still, I hesitate to make that connection without conclusive proof of genealogy in accredited academia. The same goes for John H. Cocke and Robert Skipwith, names which correspond with several people throughout Virginian history, but with no dates and information that I find conclusive enough to make a connection. However, the mention of Swan's Point in the graph of Partner:Standing reveals more useful information. Swan's Point could most likely be Swann's Point on the James River, owned by William Swann until 1636 when it passed to his descendants (Historical Marker Society of America, n.d). It is possible that someone in the family of William Swann was associated with John Cocke, the listed owner of Partner in 1777, when he stood at stud on Swan's Point or had in some way a financial connection to services rendered. However, without further evidence, it is difficult to say for sure. In featuring the areas and counties, as well as discussing owners, there begins to appear a patten of movement across the physical, colonial, landscape; see below (Graphs 7 and 8).



Graph 7: (Partner) Owner when Standing by Year



Graph 8: (Partner) County/Area by Year

When viewing the three graphs together (Graphs 6 through 8); the Owners:Standing, and County:Area data, there appears a consistent pattern in the way in which listed and known owners and subscribers would advertise their stallions for stud, keeping much in the view of landscape theory in the fact that these horses are an integral part to life and society, and the interaction between the two is apparent (see attached page with map of Virginia for approximate locations). For example, in the Owner graph, Thomas M. Randolph is listed as the public owner from 1772 to 1773, and potentially in 1774 as Partner was advertised as the property of the late Thomas M. Randolph in 1775, signifying his

passing. In the Standing data, it interestingly shows Partner being at Colonel Thomas M. Randolph's property in 1770 and 1771, with the dates mentioned above as his published ownership in 1772 to 1774 with Partner being advertised at standing at "my own estate". What is more interesting is the lack of listed owner in 1770 and 1771; could Thomas Randolph have bought Partner from Armistead Lightfoot in 1769 and did not publish his ownership until 1772? It would make sense if Partner was being advertised as standing on Randolph's property and estate well into his ownership until his passing. So if Randolph was advertising Partner's services at stud on his own estate, where exactly would that have been? I still hesitate to conclude that the Thomas M. Randolph in the data set is either the father of the Thomas M. Randolph that was the son-in-law to Thomas Jefferson, or the son-in-law himself. However, the historic Randolph's did have property and a plantation in Tuckahoe, outside of what is modern day Richmond. In the County:Area graph (Graph 8), from 1770 to 1773 we see counties consistently grouped around each other; Tuckahoe and Gouchland nearly bordered each other and are today suburbs of Richmond.

What remains the outlier is the single reference of Marlborough County in 1772; Founded by John Mercer as a port town in 1705, Marlborough County thrived under his direction as a tobacco plantation owner and exporter. Mercer had his own stallion, Ranter, that he advertised for stud services in 1766 after importing Ranter from England in 1762. Ranter only appears three times in the Virginia Gazette data; in 1766, 1774, and 1777, most likely owned in the later years by John Mercer's son James Mercer, who took over his estate after John

died in 1768 (Watkins, 1968). After John Mercer's death, the county that he created began to decline and his son James placed an advertisement in 1777 selling the stallion Ranter and several other colts and fillies for an undisclosed price (Purdie, 1777). Could the listing of Partner in Marlborough County have been a business partnership between Thomas Randolph and James Mercer? Is it the result of a race between Ranter and Partner, with the winning establishing breeding rights for the season? It is difficult to say, and the history is inconclusive. What is left is speculation and the inference on the theory of landscape to state that these two men might have been connected on the larger scale of community and society, and both shared a passion for their horses.

If the stallion Partner was in service for so long as a stud, then what information can be gleaned from the prices he offered? Would we see an increase in prices because of his race history, or would his prices decline as his accomplishments might have been eclipsed by younger stallions on the turf? What does this study of money mean for the economic landscape? If we look at Partner's Pounds per Season price, some answers do appear. See Tables 9 through 17 below;

Table 9
Seasons: Pounds
by Year

Case Summaries

				Stallion	Year
Season: Pounds	3	1		<i>Partner</i>	<i>1770</i>
		2		<i>Partner</i>	<i>1771</i>
		3		<i>Partner</i>	<i>1771</i>
		4		<i>Partner</i>	<i>1770</i>
		5		<i>Partner</i>	<i>1770</i>
		6		<i>Partner</i>	<i>1770</i>
		7		<i>Partner</i>	<i>1768</i>
		8		<i>Partner</i>	<i>1769</i>
		9		<i>Partner</i>	<i>1768</i>
		10		<i>Partner</i>	<i>1769</i>
		11		<i>Partner (Old)</i>	<i>1776</i>
		12		<i>Partner (Old)</i>	<i>1776</i>
		13		<i>Partner (Old)</i>	<i>1776</i>
		Total	N	13	13
Season: Pounds	5	1		<i>Partner</i>	<i>1775</i>
		2		<i>Partner</i>	<i>1775</i>
		Total	N	2	2
Total	N			15	15

Early on in Partner's

advertising, and

extending probably

well into his age, £3

was his asking price,

with £5 being

advertised in 1775.

We should remember

that one pound British

sterling is equal to 20

shillings (Emsley, n.d), a

currency marker that appears in 1766; see Table 10.

Table 10
Season: Shillings
by Year

Case Summaries

				Stallion	Year
Season: Shillings	20	1		<i>Partner</i>	<i>1766</i>
		Total	N	1	1
		Total	N	1	1

The asking price of

20 shillings is

equivalent to 1

pound sterling, so

it is interesting that the subscriber is not advertising in pounds. To compound

upon issues of currency, the asking for "dollars" or "Virginia dollars" speaks to the

larger societal issues

of currency in the

colonies. The "Virginia

dollar" actually refers

to the Spanish dollar

Case Summaries

				Stallion	Year
Season: Dollars	\$10	1		<i>Partner (Old)</i>	<i>1777</i>
		2		<i>Partner (Old)</i>	<i>1777</i>
		Total	N	2	2
		Total	N	2	2

Table 11
Season: Dollars by
Year

that was in circulation in Virginia and the other colonies, as it was used as a nascent form of universal currency. The economist Louis Jordan (1997) explains;

Theoretically, a Spanish dollar was valued at 4s6d sterling, while in Virginia money of account a Spanish dollar was 6s. Thus, a pound sterling would be just under 4.5 Spanish silver dollars while a Virginia currency money a pound (that is 20 shillings current money) would be 3.3 Spanish dollars.

The Spanish dollar remained in circulation and was considered legal tender until the Coinage Act of 1857 (Library of Congress, 1857). The pounds sterling equivalent of 10\$ Virginia would have been about 60 shillings or 3 pounds; a fairly reasonable price for your mare to be housed with the stallion for about four months to ensure her pregnancy.

Table 12
Leap: Pounds by
Year

Case Summaries

		Stallion	Year
Leap: Pound	1	<i>Partner</i>	<i>1772</i>
	2	<i>Partner</i>	<i>1772</i>
	3	<i>Partner</i>	<i>1772</i>
	4	<i>Partner</i>	<i>1773</i>
	5	<i>Partner (Old)</i>	<i>1773</i>
	Total N	5	5
Total N		5	5

If one could not afford to pay the season price, leap prices were available as well, and the data across all the

stallions indicates that the leap prices was almost half of the season price, with some variation in different years (half meaning that the listed Season: Pound price was half that of the Leap: Shillings price when converted to shillings). However, a leap was only a one time affair; if your mare did not get pregnant, and pregnancy could only be confirmed almost two months after a breeding session, then money was effectively wasted. With the above dates listed as

1772 and 1773, we can see a transition in Partner's breeding career; he has established himself as a veteran and still a desired stallion, given his high leap prices with no listed season prices for those two years. It should also be noted that no alternative forms of payment were ever listed for Partner; it was always the listed currency and no other value. Many times, given the social or political climate, subscribers or owners would list an alternative price, whether it is produce, tobacco or an alternative sum of money to be paid at a specific date. Given the lack of listed alternative prices, I feel that it is safe to assume that the worth of Partner's pedigree outweighed that of price.

Table 13
Leap: Shillings by
Year

Case Summaries

		Stallion	Year
Leap: Shillings	1	<i>Partner</i>	<i>1770</i>
	2	<i>Partner</i>	<i>1771</i>
	3	<i>Partner</i>	<i>1771</i>
	4	<i>Partner</i>	<i>1770</i>
	5	<i>Partner</i>	<i>1770</i>
	6	<i>Partner</i>	<i>1770</i>
	7	<i>Partner</i>	<i>1767</i>
	8	<i>Partner</i>	<i>1768</i>
	9	<i>Partner</i>	<i>1769</i>
	10	<i>Partner</i>	<i>1768</i>
	11	<i>Partner</i>	<i>1769</i>
	12	<i>Partner (Old)</i>	<i>1776</i>
	13	<i>Partner (Old)</i>	<i>1776</i>
	14	<i>Partner (Old)</i>	<i>1776</i>
Total N		14	14
Total N		14	14

The Leap: Shillings data, viewed through Partner, follows the large trend in the rest of the Virginia Gazette data in offering 20 shillings a leap. This asking prices extends far into his breeding career, with 1777 and 1775 being the only years alternative currency

Table 14
Leap: Dollars
by Year

Case Summaries

		Stallion	Year
Leap: Dollars	1	<i>Partner (Old)</i>	<i>1777</i>
	2	<i>Partner (Old)</i>	<i>1777</i>
	Total N	2	2
Total N		2	2

is advertised for; dollars and guineas. A guinea is equivalent to £1 1s (1 pound, 1

Table 15
Leap: Guineas
by Year

Case Summaries

				Stallion	Year
Leap: Guineas	1	1		<i>Partner</i>	<i>1775</i>
		2		<i>Partner</i>	<i>1775</i>
		Total	N	2	2
	Total	N		2	2

shilling) (Walbert, n.d), with 5 guineas equalling £5 5s; quite a sum of money for a single

session. It should be noted that by 1775, Partner's ownership changed from Randolph to Robert Skipwith; without knowing the detail of the sale, it is certainly possible, given the economic landscape already surrounding Partner, that Skipwith wanted to make his money's worth on the breeding rights of his new stallion; asking 5 pounds the season or 1 guinea a leap was not a small sum of money, largely owing to the cost of care it took to maintain this breeding operation.

The same can be said of the Foal Ensure prices that begin in 1768, not long after the advertisements for Partner first appear in 1766. Foal Ensure and Season price choices seem to be much in the same; with buying a season, the

Table 16
Foal Ensure: Pounds
by Year

Case Summaries

		Stallion	Year	
Foal Ensure: Pounds	5	1	Partner	1770
		2	Partner	1771
		3	Partner	1771
		4	Partner	1770
		5	Partner	1770
		6	Partner	1770
		7	Partner	1768
		8	Partner	1769
		9	Partner	1768
		10	Partner	1769
	Total N		10	10
	6	1	Partner (Old)	1776
		2	Partner (Old)	1776
		3	Partner (Old)	1776
		Total N		3
Total N		13	13	

mare would stay housed and pastured with the stallion for an established length of time, then return home. For a foal ensure price, the mare

would be pastured with the stallion probably well after the common and established breeding season; it takes up to three months to establish a mare's pregnancy with any certainty when not relying on medical science (Harper,

Table 17
Foal Ensure:
Guineas by Year

Case Summaries

			Stallion	Year
Foal Ensure: Guineas	1	1	Partner	1770
	Total N		1	1
	Total	N	1	1

2005). Thus, if a mare was housed under the foal

ensure price rate, the mare might become pregnant and foal outside of the common breeding and birthing season; the mid-spring to late summer months. A mare foaling in the middle of fall into the approaching winter would be at a high risk of losing the foal to any number of natural mishaps, and the owner would be out of his money and pedigree. When looking at the Virginia Gazette data as a whole while sorting only by the Foal Ensure:Pounds, it was far more common to

offer 5 pounds for foal ensure, with 3 pounds following in a close second.

However, as the dates get later and later, there is an increasing trend of nearly doubling the Foal Ensure prices, with a price of 50 pounds being advertised in 1780 for the insurance of a mare's pregnancy by the stallion Sprightly. Such an exorbitant sum of money could only be afforded by the ultra-wealthy; those who could afford to take the loss of their mare foaled to late in the season.

The establishment of the foal ensure rates, I concur, play into the economic landscape that began to surround these horses and the culture of horse racing. The shift between the natural task-space to the economic task-space is reflected in the prices charged given the larger social and communal climate; just as within the landscape, change must be made to adapt to a new reality. This economic reality meant that a horse was only worth his pedigree and racing record and had to stay economically competitive in order to remain relevant. This is, I believe, the reason for the pounds for foal insurance creep steadily up to the year 1780 (see Table 18). What is also interesting to note is that the earliest dates, 1766 and 1767, do not necessarily fall on the lowest end of the spectrum; Fearnought advertises for 8 pounds in 1767, with Yorick asking 5 pounds in 1766 (both stallions are outlined in red). What this speaks to is the both the fame of the stallions, but also to the relative rarity of famous race horses this early in the colonies.

Fearnought, who deserves his own history, is one of the earliest and most popular colonial race horses, with Yorick trailing in on his coat-tails. These two horses who dominate the early Virginia Gazette data, mirror the social and

economic situation that surrounds these two early stallions. Simply because the fame and the relatively new trend towards breeding and owning pedigreed horses, these stallions represent the first shift into the wide scale practice, a practice that opened the doors for many emerging horses and their owners to thrive economically and socially. My analysis of Partner represents the phase of the Virginia Gazette data where the practice of racing and breeding is straightforward, streamlined, and distinct. This is one stallion that can be firmly traced from his importation from England to his decline in 1777 within the data, and his history after such a date is unknown. Partner's prices and data on ownership can be easily traced through separate histories, and outlines possible historical relationships that we might not have known before.

Table 18: Leap:
Pounds by Year

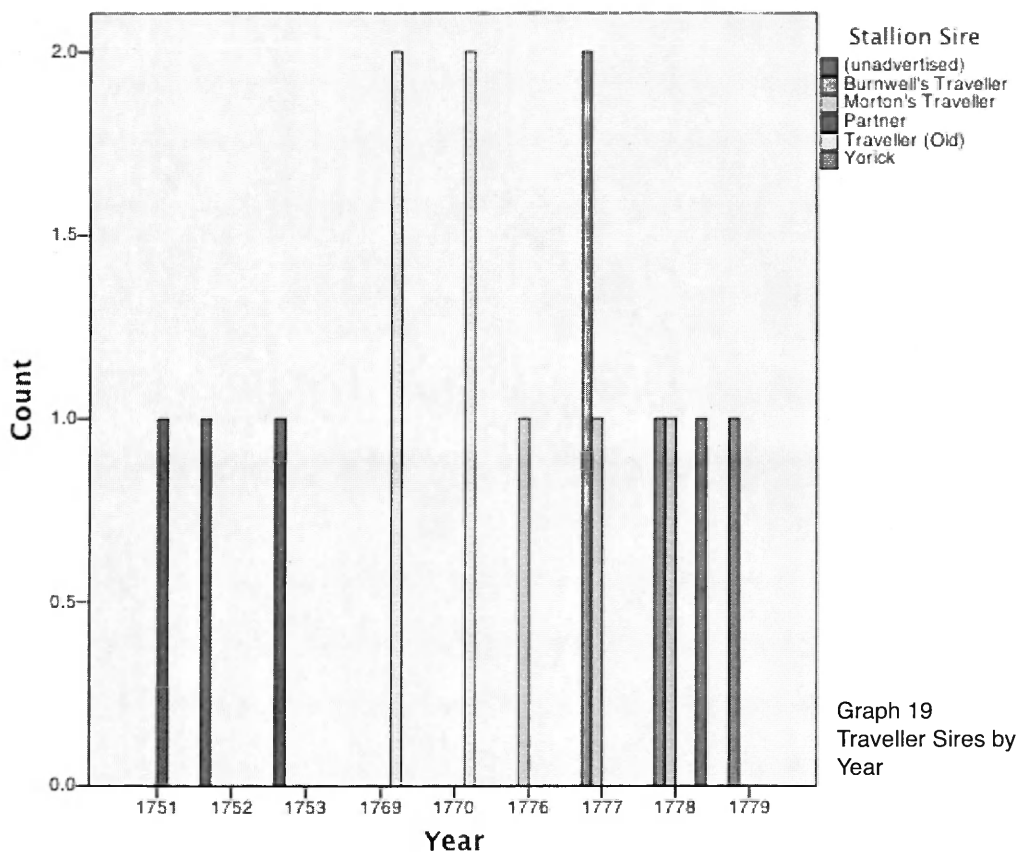
The data for the
stallion Partner is
outlined in blue

Case Summaries

		Year	Stallion
Leap: Pound	2	1	1774 <i>Tristam Shandy</i>
		Total N	1 1
	3	1	1777 <i>Gallant</i>
		2	1778 <i>Matchless</i>
		3	1777 <i>Shakespear</i>
		4	1778 <i>Whirlgio</i>
		5	1776 <i>Yorick</i>
		6	1776 <i>Yorick</i>
		Total N	6 6
	4	1	1779 <i>Camillus</i>
		2	1775 <i>King Herod</i>
		3	1775 <i>King Herod</i>
		4	1778 <i>Tristam Shandy</i>
		Total N	4 4
	5	1	1778 <i>Cub</i>
		2	1778 <i>Gallant</i>
		3	1777 <i>Janus (Old)</i>
		4	1772 <i>Partner</i>
		5	1772 <i>Partner</i>
		6	1772 <i>Partner</i>
		7	1773 <i>Partner</i>
		8	1773 <i>Partner (Old)</i>
		9	1766 <i>Yorick</i>
		10	1766 <i>Yorick</i>
		Total N	10 10
	6	1	1775 <i>Fearnought</i>
		2	1779 <i>Leonidas</i>
		3	1779 <i>Regulus</i>
		4	1779 <i>Regulus</i>
		5	1779 <i>Regulus</i>
		Total N	5 5
	8	1	1767 <i>Fearnought</i>
		2	1779 <i>Tom Jones</i>
		Total N	2 2
	9	1	1779 <i>Lath</i>
		2	1779 <i>Lofly</i>
		3	1779 <i>Mercury</i>
		Total N	3 3
	12	1	1779 <i>Fearnought</i>
		Total N	1 1
	15	1	1779 <i>Don Carlos</i>
		Total N	1 1
	20	1	1779 <i>Old Selim</i>
		Total N	1 1
	25	1	1780 <i>Selim (Old)</i>
		Total N	1 1
	30	1	1777 <i>Damon</i>
		Total N	1 1
	50	1	1780 <i>Sprightly</i>
		Total N	1 1
		Total N	37 37

TRAVELLER

First appearing in the advertisements in 1751, Traveller dominates the advertisements well into 1779. I chose Traveller partly because of his expansive date range, as well as the intricacies involved in sorting out the details of his time at stud. It should be noted that there are technically five different stallions whom are named Traveller, as evidenced by their listed sires (see Graph 19).



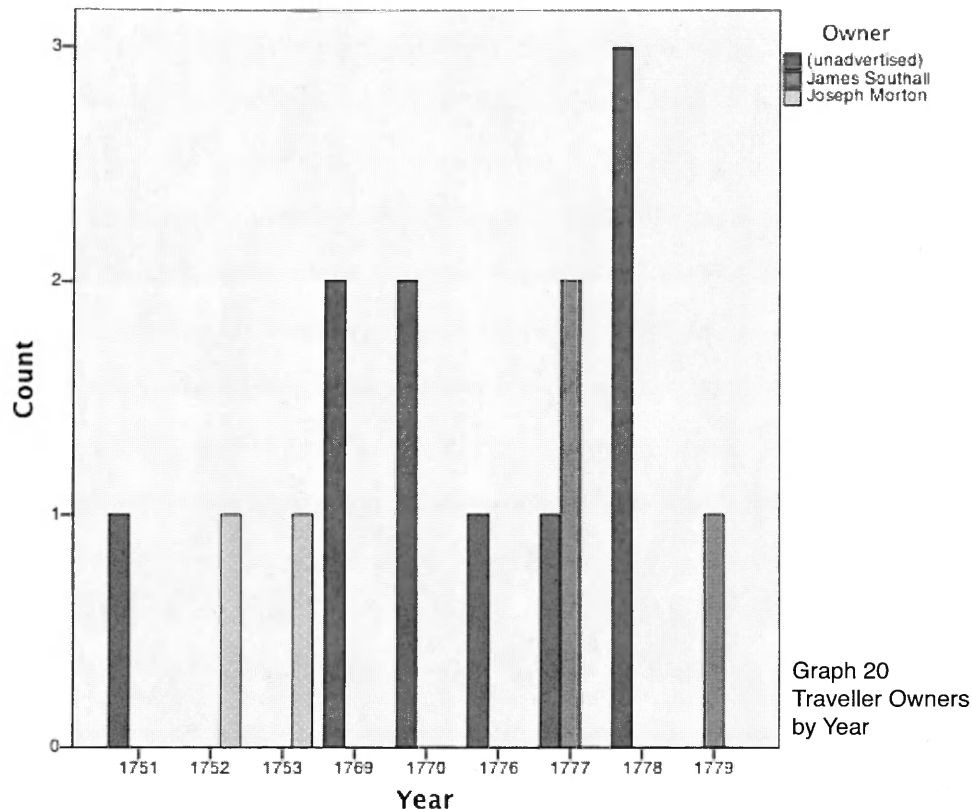
It was, and still is, fairly common to fully name or contain some part of the name of a horse's sire, to illustrate a direct connection. In this instance, the first Traveller appears in 1751, sired by the famous stallion Partner, but not the same Partner stallion analyzed in the earlier section. In 1752 and 1753, the name of

the sire is unidentified, but one can assume it is the first Traveller and no other, given the time it takes to be established as a successful racehorse and breeding stallion. Also, if Traveller had sired any colts, it would take at least 8 years before those colts would be strong enough to race and breed.

In 1769 we begin to see another Traveller appear, this time with the sire listed as Old Traveller, no doubt in reference to the Traveller that appears between 1751 through to 1753. Within the advertisements, it is very common to list any sire that shares the same name with his offspring as “Old”, to differentiate between stallions and establish a pedigree. Since pedigrees were often not written down, or if they were, later in the horse’s life, the direct naming would act as a simple way to track which colt was sired by which stallion, without having to take into account the mare involved. Mares were hardly if ever listed in colonial pedigrees, and the General Stud was the first to begin establishing the listing of mares and their offspring.

The next clue to differentiate between the five is to look at the listed owner, and the place where the stallions are standing at stud. In viewing Chart 19 above, shows that the sire of Traveller is listed as (Joseph) Morton’s Traveller, no doubt in reference to the owner of said sire, and in 1777 there is a listing under Burnwell’s Traveller. These two listed sires overlap for a period of years, and a final sire listing for the last Traveller is Yorick, a well know and well raced horse in the colonial period. Since we have established that there are five

different Traveller stallions in the data, we can now establish ownership of the



stallions (see Graph 20 above).

What I have found most striking in the 1808 General Stud is the lack of mentioned ownership. Owners and breeders are hardly mentioned and if so, no detail is given on them outside of their abbreviated name. This was the case with establishing the ownership of Traveller (all five of him) throughout time and trying to find a breeding pedigree that mentions each different stallions. The listed owners for Traveller in the Virginia Gazette data are James Southall and Joseph Morton; owners of Southall's Traveller and Morton's Traveller, respectively. However, when searching through the General Stud, James Southall himself is

not mentioned at all and there is only one reference to “Southall’s Traveller” in the pedigree listing; “Burnwell’s Traveller got: Southall’s Traveller, out of an imported mare; and Camillus, out of a Fearnaught [mare]” (Skinner, 1808:1052). The General Stud makes many references to many stallions under the name of “Traveller”, but it remains difficult to determine which Traveller is in reference. Joseph Morton, the owner, is also not mentioned in the General Stud, but his stallion certainly is;

MORTON'S TRAVELLER, h. Foaled about the year 1748, and stood at Richmond court-house, Virginia, in 1754. He was bred by Mr Crofts, and got by his famous horse Partner, who was a grandson of the Byerly Turk, and was himself the grand- sire of King Herod. The dam of Traveller was by Bloody Buttocks, an Arabian. Morton's Traveller was bred from the best running stock in England in that day. The famous Widdrington mare was full sister to Traveller. She bred Shepherd's Crab, and other capital racers. [Skinner, 1808:1051]

It is interesting to note that “Mr. Croft” does not appear in the Virginia Gazette advertisements at any time, neither as an owner or a subscriber. It is possible that Mr. Croft and Joseph Morton had a business partnership where Morton was the investor and Croft the breeder. Mr. Croft is only mentioned twice more in the General Stud;

TOM JONES, Bred by *Mr Croft*, foaled 1745, imported into Virginia 1755. See page 298. Marmaduke Beckwith.
TRAVELLER, (Moreton's,) bred by *Mr Croft*, foaled 1748— by Partner— Bloody Buttocks— Greyhound — Makelless — Brimmer, &c [Skinner, 1808:1048]

No other mention of Croft or Morton is found after that and the stallion Tom Jones does appear in the Virginia Gazette, but only once. What we can see in the pedigree of Morton’s Traveller is a direct link among three influential race horses

in colonial times; Partner (not the same Partner has previously discussed), the Bylery Turk, and an imported Arabian mare. Clearly, this one stallion would have been well known. The mention in the Burnwell's Traveller pedigree briefly names three well known horses; Southall's Traveller, Camillus, and an unnamed mare out of the exceptional Fearnought bloodline. The records and pedigrees of these four horses would have been known, and thus taken advantage of to establish a renown pedigree, thus setting up for what would become an enormous and complicated economic landscape for each one of the these five stallions.

Breeding horses for a distinguished pedigree cost money; that fact remains throughout history. Looking at the specific breakdown of breeding costs with Traveller over time and currency, one can see a shift in price over time based on owner. See Tables 21 through 29 below;

**Year * Owner * Season: Pounds
Crosstabulation**

Count			Owner	Total
Season: Pounds			(unadvertised)	
3	Year	1777	1	1
		1778	1	1
	Total		2	2
5	Year	1778	1	1
	Total		1	1
Total	Year	1777	1	1
		1778	2	2
	Total		3	3

Table 21
Season: Pounds by Year

For the unadvertised owner of Traveller, his Pounds per Season price only appears in 1777-1778; relatively late in the data set. With these dates it is possible to see that there are two horses represented in this table; the offspring of Burnwell's and Morton's Travellers.

Year * Owner * Season: Shillings Crosstabulation

Count		Owner		Total
Season: Shillings		(unadvertised)	James Southall	
30	Year 1777		2	2
	Total		2	2
40	1769	2		2
	Year 1770	2		2
	1776	1		1
	Total	5		5
45	Year 1778	1		1
	Total	1		1
Total	1769	2	0	2
	1770	2	0	2
	Year 1776	1	0	1
	1777	0	2	2
	1778	1	0	1
	Total	6	2	8

Table 22
Season: Shillings by Year

James Southall appears in the price data under Shillings per Season, as does an unadvertised owner. The shillings price is an interesting one, as 20 shillings equals £1 (Emsley, n.d) the listed price of 45 shillings is £2, 5s;

compare that to the £3 and £5 advertised in Pounds per Season.

Year * Owner * Season: Pistoles Crosstabulation

Count		Owner		Total
Season: Pistoles		(unadvertised)		
5	Year 1751	1		1
	Total	1		1
Total	Year 1751	1		1
	Total	1		1

Table 23
Season: Pistoles by Year

A pistole is worth just about 18 shillings (Costa, 2005). 5 pistoles is 90 shillings or 4.5 pounds, which is a considerably high, but given that a breeding season lasted

from the early spring to the late summer (March to August), a period of 6 months, then one would be paying for less than a pound a month for the mare to be housed with the stallion until it could be determined that she was in foal.

**Year * Owner * Season: Dollars
Crosstabulation**

Count

			Owner	Total
			James Southall	
Season: Dollars				
\$160	Year	1779	I	I
	Total		I	I
Total	Year	1779	I	I
	Total		I	I

Table 24
Season: Dollars by Year

The Spanish dollar remained in circulation and considered legal tender until the Coinage Act of 1857 (Library of Congress, 1857), so it's no surprise that we see it so late

listed in 1779. However, given such a late listed date of

**Year * Owner * Leap: Dollars
Crosstabulation**

Count

			Owner	Total
			James Southall	
Leap: Dollars				
\$40	Year	1779	I	I
	Total		I	I
Total	Year	1779	I	I
	Total		I	I

Table 25
Leap: Dollars by Year

1779, when currency and price fluctuated so wildly amid the printing of the Continental dollar, it is difficult to determine a conversion of 160 Virginia dollars

Year * Owner * Leap: Shillings Crosstabulation

Count			Owner		Total
Leap: Shillings			(unadvertised)	James Southall	
10	Year	1769	2	0	2
		1770	2	0	2
		1777	0	2	2
	Total	4	2	6	
15	Year	1776	1		1
	Total	1		1	
16	Year	1778	1		1
	Total	1		1	
20	Year	1777	1		1
	Total	1		1	
40	Year	1778	1		1
	Total	1		1	
Total	Year	1769	2	0	2
		1770	2	0	2
		1776	1	0	1
		1777	1	2	3
		1778	2	0	2
	Total	8	2	10	

Table 26
Leap: Shillings by Year

to the equivalent in
pounds sterling or inflated

Continental dollars.

In the chart to the left
(Table 26), we can see
the gradual rise in price
from 1769 to 1778 from
10 shillings to 40 shillings
(£2 sterling) for a single
leap; quite a bit of money
for just a one time

service, but when

remembering the pedigrees of these horses, such an amount of money would not
have been exorbitant. Though £2 sterling may seem like a lot of money, the
hyperinflation of the Continental dollar (Jordan, 1997) fluctuated the worth of the

Year * Owner * Leap: Guineas Crosstabulation

Count		Owner		Total
Leap: Guineas		(unadvertised)		
5	Year	1751	1	1
	Total		1	1
Total	Year	1751	1	1
	Total		1	1

Table 27
Leap: Guineas by
Year

printed dollar so much so that the
listed price of the securely backed
British pound would have made the
investment that much more worth
the price.

Outside of the usual currency in use during this time period,
the guinea is seen in much earlier ads, in this case 1751. A guinea is equivalent

to £1, 1shilling (Walbert, n.d), with 5 guinea equalling £5, 5s; quite a sum of money for a single session. However, let us remember that the Traveller in reference in 1751 is the colt of the famous colonial race horse Partner, but not the same Partner analyzed in the section previous. Thus, given the pedigree is question, a price of £5 is worth the possible foal of such a distinctive family tree.

**Year * Owner * Foal Ensure: Pounds
Crosstabulation**

Count		Owner	
Foal Ensure: Pounds		(unadvertised)	Total
3	Year 1778	1	1
	Total	1	1
5	Year 1778	1	1
	Total	1	1
Total	Year 1778	2	2
	Total	2	2

Table 28
Foal Ensure: Pounds
by Year

**Year * Owner * Foal Ensure: Guineas
Crosstabulation**

Count		Owner	
Foal Ensure: Guineas		Joseph Morton	Total
8	Year 1752	1	1
	1753	1	1
	Total	2	2
Total	Year 1752	1	1
	1753	1	1
	Total	2	2

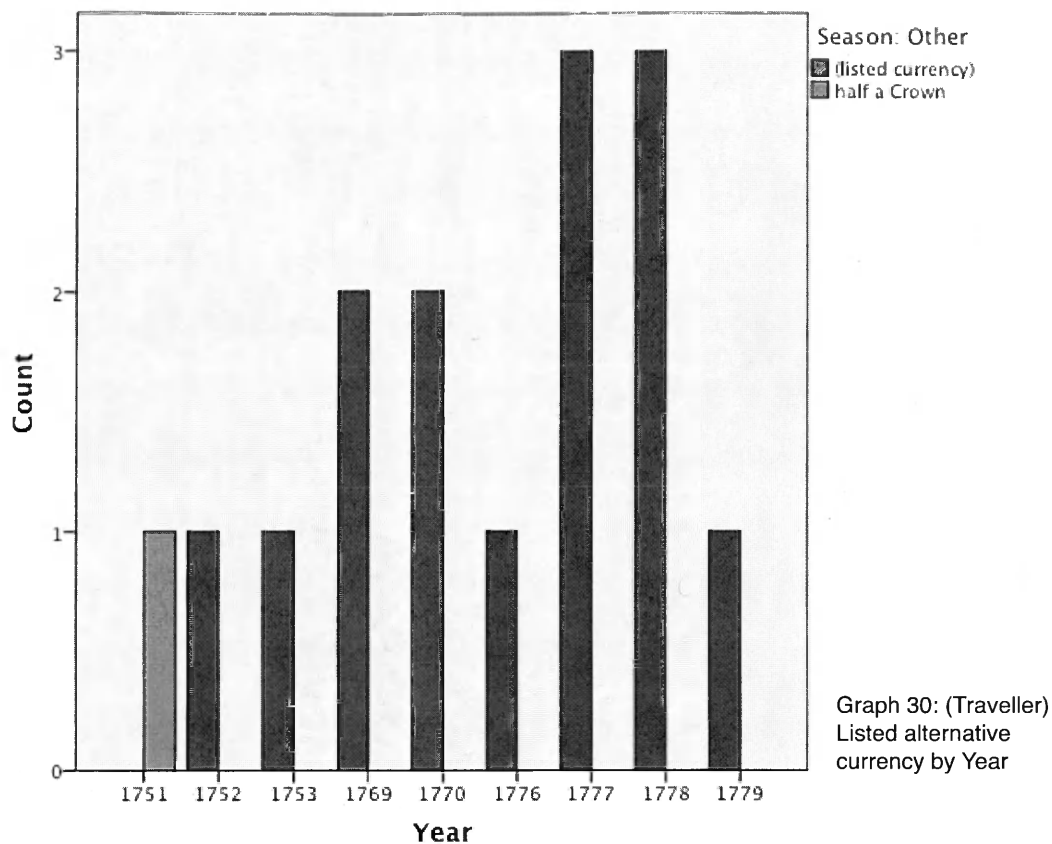
Table 29
Foal Ensure: Guineas
by Year

Furthering the discussion of price of pedigree, subscribers began marketing a price for “foal ensure” meaning that a mare would be kept on the grounds with the stallion until it could be determined that the mare was indeed pregnant and would then be returned to her owners. A mare would show signs of pregnancy (Harper, 2005) about 30 days after her first cover if the session was successful. Between the two charts above and left, there becomes a notable difference in price when a pedigree can be

established. Above, with the dates of 1778, the Traveller in mention could either be the colt of Burnwell or Morton’s Traveller; impressive, but

not as impressive as the pedigree listed to the Foal Ensure: Guineas chart (Table 29). With the listed year of 1752 and 1753, the sire of the Traveller in mention would have been Partner; what is even more telling is the listed owner, Joseph Morton. This would mean that Morton owned both Travellers in the Foal Ensure charts, with the reference of Morton's Traveller having been the Traveller stallion bred out of the Partner foal.

Though we have discussed the circulated and established currency within colonial Virginia, sometimes coinage was not always used to pay for a service. Within the Virginia Gazette data, it was common for the subscriber to first list the appropriate currency for the trade, but then to also list an alternative price if the priced currency could not be met. There are times when "Virginia currency" is listed as an alternative currency if the original listed currency is in pounds sterling. Looking at the Traveller data to determine alternative prices of payment, what is surprising is that within the selected data, only one instance appears (Graph 30).



1751 is the only listed date that has an alternative price listed to the listed currency. Half a crown is equivalent to 2 shillings and 6 pence sterling (Walbert, n.d) compared to the 5 pistoles and 5 guineas of the listed season and leap prices (see Table 31 on the following page). We should remember that 5 pistoles for the season price is about 4.5 pounds sterling or about 90 shillings while 5 guineas is 5 pounds sterling and 5 shillings. Comparatively, the alternative price is far lower than the listed asking price and 1751 is the only date within the

Table 31
Other currency by
Year

Traveller data where an alternative price appears. What we

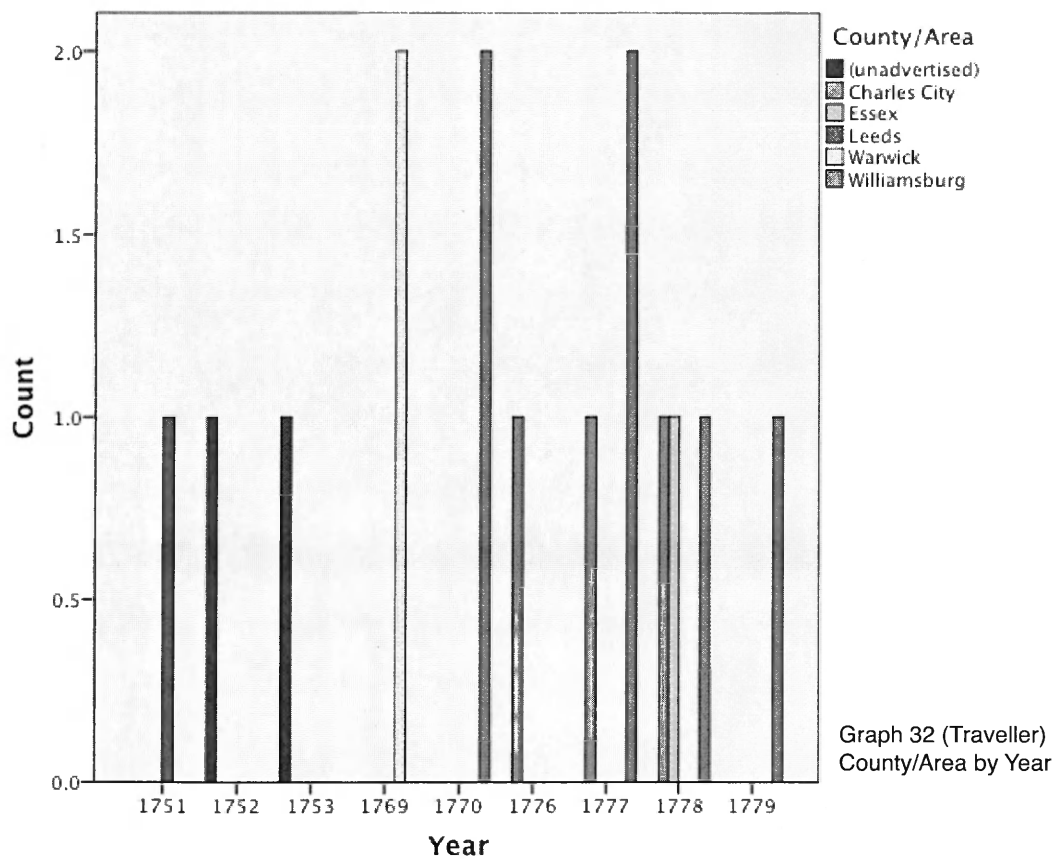
Case Summaries

		Year	Season: Pistoles	Leap: Guineas
Stallion	1	1778	.	.
	2	1770	.	.
	3	1770	.	.
	4	1777	.	.
	5	1779	.	.
	6	1777	.	.
	7	1769	.	.
	8	1769	.	.
	9	1778	.	.
	10	1776	.	.
	11	1777	.	.
	12	1778	.	.
	13	1752	.	.
	14	1753	.	.
	15	1751	5	5
Total N		15	1	1
Total	N	15	1	1

should keep in mind is that the Traveller listed with the alternative price is the colt of the famous stallion Partner, so it seems to no surprise the huge asking price for his services in order to secure the lineage. Thus, listing an alternative price for the season would mean that those who were not so wealthy could afford to send their mares to Traveller in hopes of securing the Partner-Traveller bloodline. These financial ventures certainly paid off for those that took the risk, as all of the listed Traveller's have offspring that became successful racehorses and breeding stallions in their own right.

Another question to be addressed in linking horse breeding, social networks, and landscape is how much did these owners move their stallions from area to area, county to county, to race, breed, and generally expand upon their business? Within the Traveller data, we see a wide range of counties along both the James and Rappahannock River, which corresponds historically to wealthy

planters maintaining estates and lands along a central river for ease of movement and sale. Thus, if planters were either owning or sponsoring theirs or other stallions, hosting stallions on their riverfront estates would appear in the historical record, as we can see with the graph below (Graph 32) of the counties and areas where Traveller had been advertised as standing at stud; (also see the



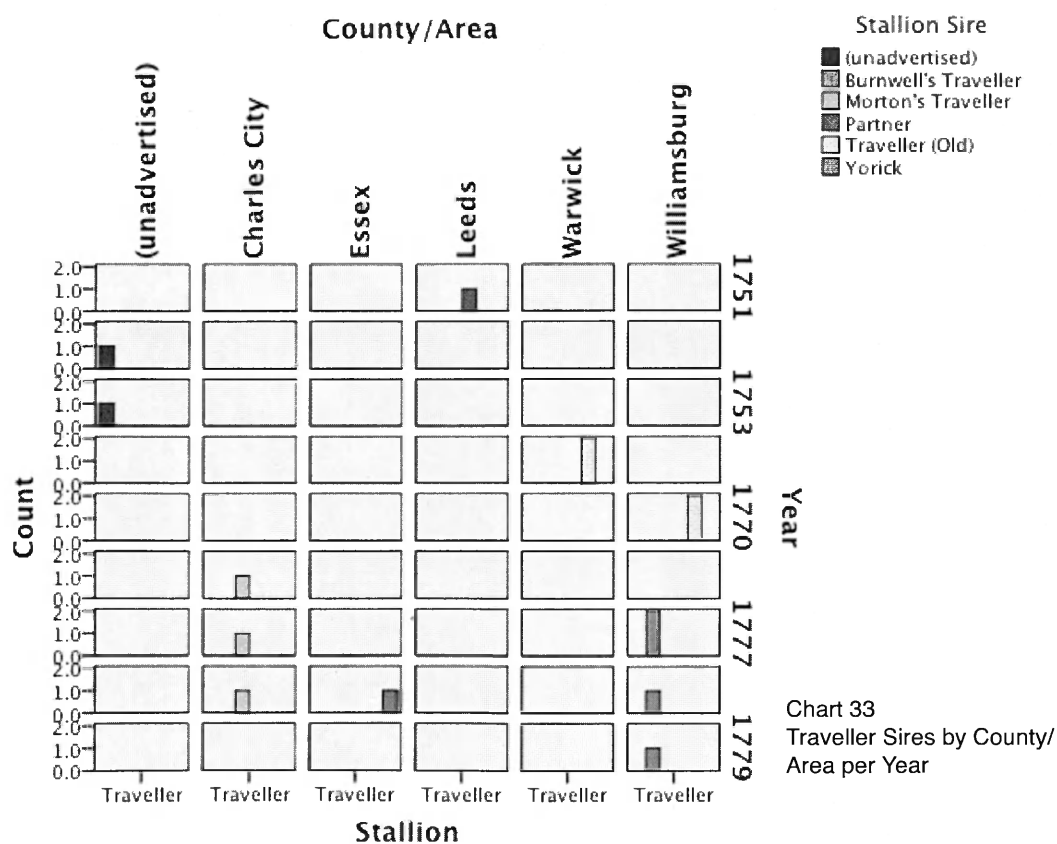
large map of current counties of Virginia on attached appendix for approximate location). Unlike with the Partner data set, where the listed owners of the stallion could be located in some fashion in the historical data, the Traveller data lacks such historical persons, and thus it becomes necessary to place him by county location instead of by direct ownership.

It is important to remember that the counties that exist in Virginia today are different than those that existed in the colonial era; many former towns, counties, hamlets, and shires have been absorbed or split up many times since. Both Leeds and Warwick, as mentioned in the data above, no longer exist as their own county or town; they may have been absorbed by other counties, or disbanded altogether. A Leedstown in Westmoreland County exists today, as does a Leeds Parish in Fauquier County but without any further information, it remains difficult to determine where the mention of “Leeds” might have actually been. The mention of Warwick is not such a mystery; a Warwick County existed until it was encompassed into Newport News in 1958 (United States Census Bureau, 1958). The other mentions of area still exist in some capacity today, though I do not wish to give the impression that these counties are the hard and fast counties of Virginia today; certainly there has been expansion and contraction of the listed counties over time, but the modern map of Virginia can at least give a first hand impression of the scope and scale of the areas that were involved in this practice.

Looking at the County graph (Chart 33), and then viewing the Traveller graph from earlier in the section (Graph 32), we can see that some of the same Travellers were operating in the almost the same areas; The Traveller by Partner operated in Leeds in 1751 and possibly through to 1753, but the data is inconclusive. Traveller by Old Traveller did his business in Williamsburg and possibly Warwick in 1769 and 1770; unsurprising given the history that Williamsburg had with horse racing. Indeed, I suspect that a majority of the

stallions in the Virginia Gazette had some point in the career raced in Williamsburg. Traveller by Morton's Traveller operated only in Charles City while Traveller by Burnwell's Traveller operated in Williamsburg alone. Traveller by Yorick appears in Essex in 1778.

Significantly, five different stallions, all named Traveller, and all with equally impressive pedigrees, never did business in the same counties and hardly overlapped each other over the years that the many Travellers operated until 1779. See Chart 33 and specifically the "Charles City" section.



It is in 1778 that we see the three different Traveller stallions operating at the same time, but not in the same county. Were they aware of their competitors

doing business in other counties and did they price accordingly to remain competitive? The graph on the following page shows more financial detail (Table 34);

Table 34
Stallion by Year and County/Area

Case Summaries^a

Stallion	Traveller	Year	1778	County/Area			Season:	Season:	Leap:	Foal Ensure:
							Pounds	Shillings	Shillings	Pounds
					Charles City		1	3	.	5
					Total		N	1		1
					Essex		1	5	40	.
					Total		N	1	1	.
					Williamsburg		1	.	45	16
					Total		N	1	1	1
					Total		N	2	1	2
					Total		N	2	1	2
					Total		N	2	1	2
					Total		N	2	1	2

a. Limited to first 100 cases.

Operating in Charles City (view Chart 33) is Traveller by Morton's Traveller, Essex is Traveller by Yorick, and Williamsburg is Traveller by Burnwell's Traveller. What appears is at best some form of price matching; 20 shillings is equal to 1 pound sterling, thus 40 shillings is 2 pounds sterling; 45 shillings is 2 pounds sterling and 1 crown (5 shillings) while 16 shillings is just shy of 1 pound sterling. Thus the prices are as such; Traveller in Charles City is charging 3 pounds the season and 5 pounds ensure, Traveller in Essex is charging 5 pounds the season, 2 pounds the leap, and Traveller in Williamsburg charges 2 pounds 5 shillings the season, 16 shillings the leap with 3 pounds ensure. Depending on what services you wanted and could afford, the three above gave you enough options to shop for prices and pedigrees.

Given the complexity of the Traveller data set, the intricacies of the economic landscape become more nuanced; even though five different stallions, all of whom are vaguely or directly related to one another, could advertise and do

business along side each other for such a long period of time and still remain different and distinct. The significance of such a nuanced practice speaks to the established social networks now in place during this time. Each Traveller stallion operated within his own economic landscape, but also influenced and butted up against each other's realities in such a way that it can be illustrated through economic matching. What we find is almost a dance where there is no leader; each stallion and his owner had to define themselves as distinct and different while being indirectly related to each other, if by pedigree or by ownership.

SUMMARY & ANALYSIS

The use of an economic landscape became a way to frame and theorize the economic behavior of the colonial elite toward the gradual change seen in horse racing and horse breeding over time. This theory, used to examine two key stallions in the colonial world and their dynamic or static change in economic standing over time, provides a fluid approach to complex issues surrounding the relationship of the colonials to their horses. Illustrated by an extensive economic study of prices and currency across both time and location, what becomes apparent is the seamless application of a theory that encompasses economic trends and the use of landscape to convey status, power, and control. Both Partner and Traveller, while only two of a vast data set, uniquely demonstrate the wide range of applications of an economic landscape theory, and thus provide us with potential for future study

Analysis of this data illustrates several unique correlations that not only occur in an economic realm, as with the dueling prices of the Traveller stallions, but within the histories of men highlighted through ownership and location. A fine example of this exists within the Partner data, with the possibility that one of the listed owners may be Thomas Jefferson's son-in-law, bringing to the data possible presidential overtones and a potentially unstudied aspect of Jefferson's colonial life and economic holdings. The use of the 1808 General Stud provides us with the ability to link prodigy of horses over the period eighteen years, as well as study the breeders whose horse's bloodlines became successful on the track. What of James Mercer, the man who might have bet the economic solvency of his floundering Marlborough County on a race between himself and the possible son-in-law of Thomas Jefferson? We may never know if this is true, but the compelling evidence of it exists through the locational studies of the racing colonial world. What also becomes apparent is the trend of breeding through time; with more high quality stallions available in the colonies, there is a reduced need to import racing stock from England and elsewhere, thus cultivating a unique American racehorse. These American horses combined the conformations of speed, strength, and endurance that the colonists were breeding for; a winning combination.

CONCLUSION

Partner and Traveller are only two of the many stallions that lived and raced in the colonial world; the Virginia Gazette statistical data holds far more

names and histories to be uncovered. Using a framework that encompasses a theory of landscape, and integrated a focus on economics, it is now possible to see the reality of our landscape and economic practice. What emerges is an analysis of why such care and time was taken in the creation an American race horse, what this creation meant in the larger historical factors, and what affect it has had on our understanding of the colonial cultural elite.

The use of landscape theory in this research has proved to be one of the hinging factors in understanding exactly how large of a practice this was, and exactly where it was taking place. In illustrating both the Standing and County:Area data, the locations can be linked to specific people, places, or communities, thus giving us a platform with which to build a unique history around locational horse racing and breeding. With the locational and stallion data, one can begin to piece together family histories that have been overlooked, purely from the horses mouth, as it were. The General Stud book, while instrumental in reassembling the pedigrees and histories of the stallions, provides little in the mention of owners or breedings; these histories are left to be discovered through other sources, including the interactions they had with their beloved horses. The two examples of the stallions Partner and Traveller provide many different histories for their owners; some histories that are known and others that have yet to be disclosed.

In economics, monetary trends follow the way in which business was conducted, reflected the prestige of the stallion and their owners. The evolution of the currency used reflects the changing social structure within the colonies and

their relationship with Britain and the world. The changing currency, from the guinea and pistole, to dollars and pounds sterling, shows not only a social change, but establishes the theory of an economic landscape surrounding a practice engrained into the natural landscape; the shift in prices and currency reflects this taskspace.

To expand on the economic landscape, we can also look at horse and tack. Horses are expensive to keep and maintain, and their tack can be just as costly. Barns had to be constructed solidly enough to house one or more animals, keep them dry and warm, and provide security. Where animals were not allowed to free roam, pastures with multiple animals had to have a fresh water source, like a creek, river, or pond, creating expansive pasture lands that had to be enclosed in some way. Livestock also had to be protected from theft, creating more expenses for the owner on top of stable construction, transport, tack, and feed. This type of economic investment into livestock is more than just a livelihood; it's a lifestyle that cannot be separated from the cultural landscape. This lifestyle of thoroughbred horse breeding was a highly specialized task, a task that reaped great rewards if done successfully, or a task that brought it's partakers down the social ladder. The economic aspect of horse racing is itself a marker of society practice, with breeding being the flip-side of the economic coin. To have your own famous race horse, you could either buy one, or make your own.

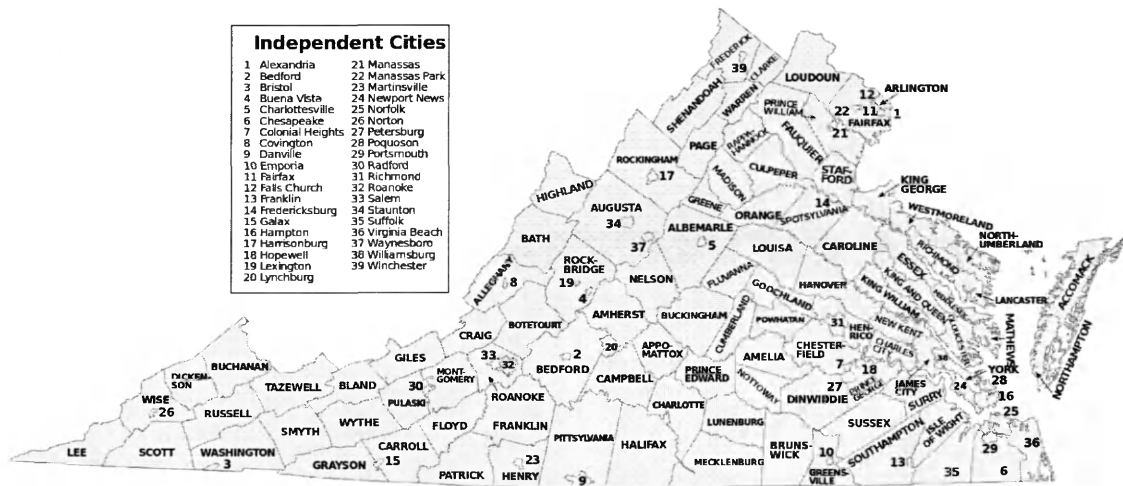
While this thesis contends with the anthropological side of horse racing and horse breeding, what I hope will come out of this work is a framework and

theory that serves an anthropological purpose for research questions left unanswered. By instilling landscape theory, practiced widely in archaeology today, and an economic theory that seeks to answer the drive of specific economic practices, what it creates in its combination is a two-fold theory that seeks to explore the shift in horses-as-animal to horses-as-commodity by the focus of specialized breeding and racing. Future references to this work might encompass the study of horses as a type of material culture, as outlined by James Deetz (1996), or possibly expand upon T.H Breen's (1977) work with gambling as a form of symbolic play, with the race horse providing the focus of social anxieties, norms, and mores. With this in mind, it might become possible to explore many other avenues of history and society, with an archaeological focus, on the conscious shift of actions and practices.

In conclusion, the presentation of the Virginia Gazette stallion data through a statistical model can be translated into the larger framework of history, anthropology, and theory. It allows for an intricate picture to emerge, a picture where another layer of history has been emancipated and given a clear light to be seen. I suggest that a deeper analysis can be done on the data that I have presented. I have found that I have asked more questions than I have answered, but such should be the nature of an exploratory, as well as an emancipatory, history. A history that now presents itself in the form of our modern American horse, a breed unique to our nation and our history. I profoundly hope that this work will seek to inspire others to take up the saddle, as it were, and go forth into the wilderness.

APPENDIX

Modern county map of Virginia, United States Census Bureau; 2011



All graphs generated with IBM SPSS predictive analytics software, version 20.

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2011 County Map of Virginia

1958 Warwick, Virginia